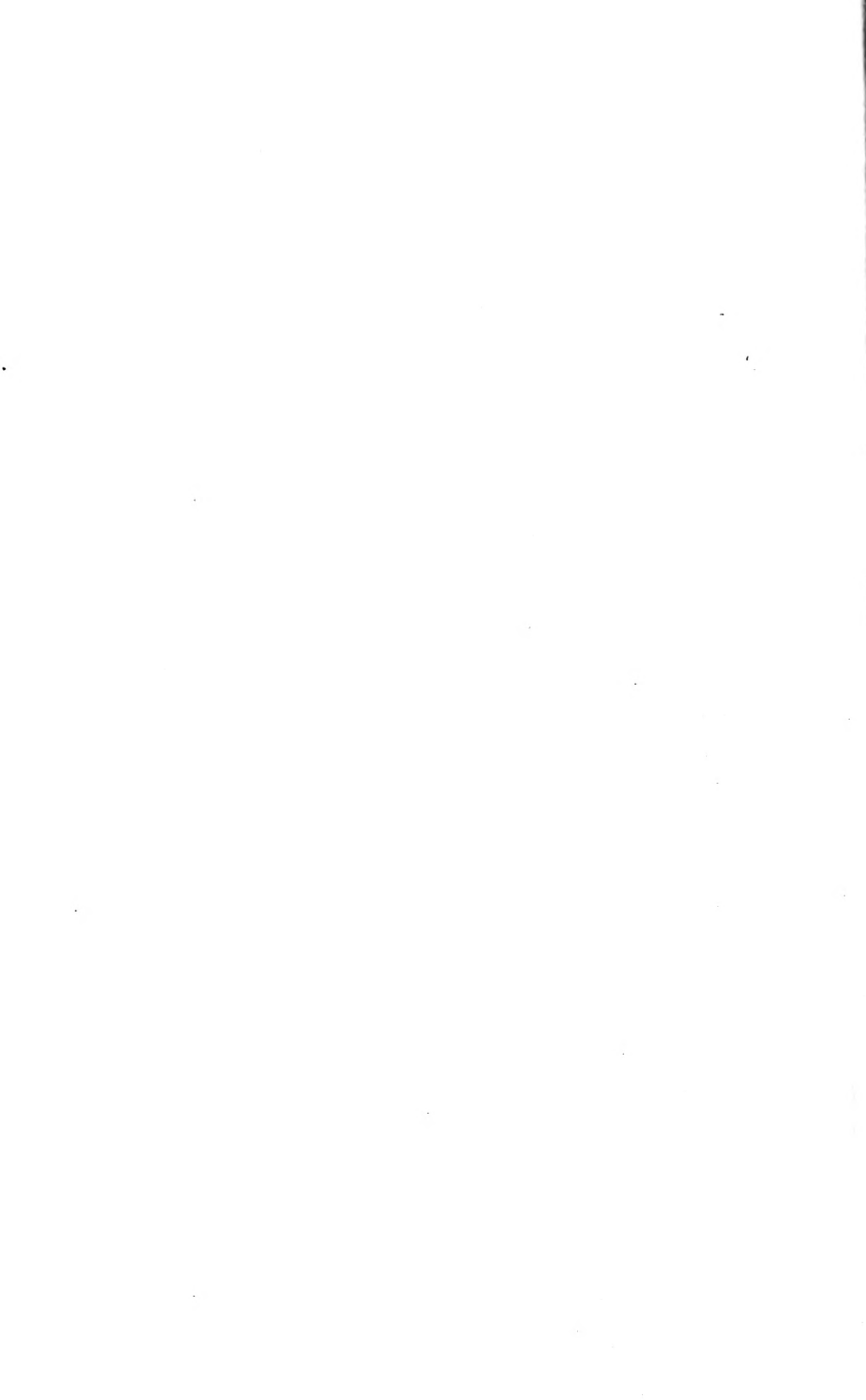


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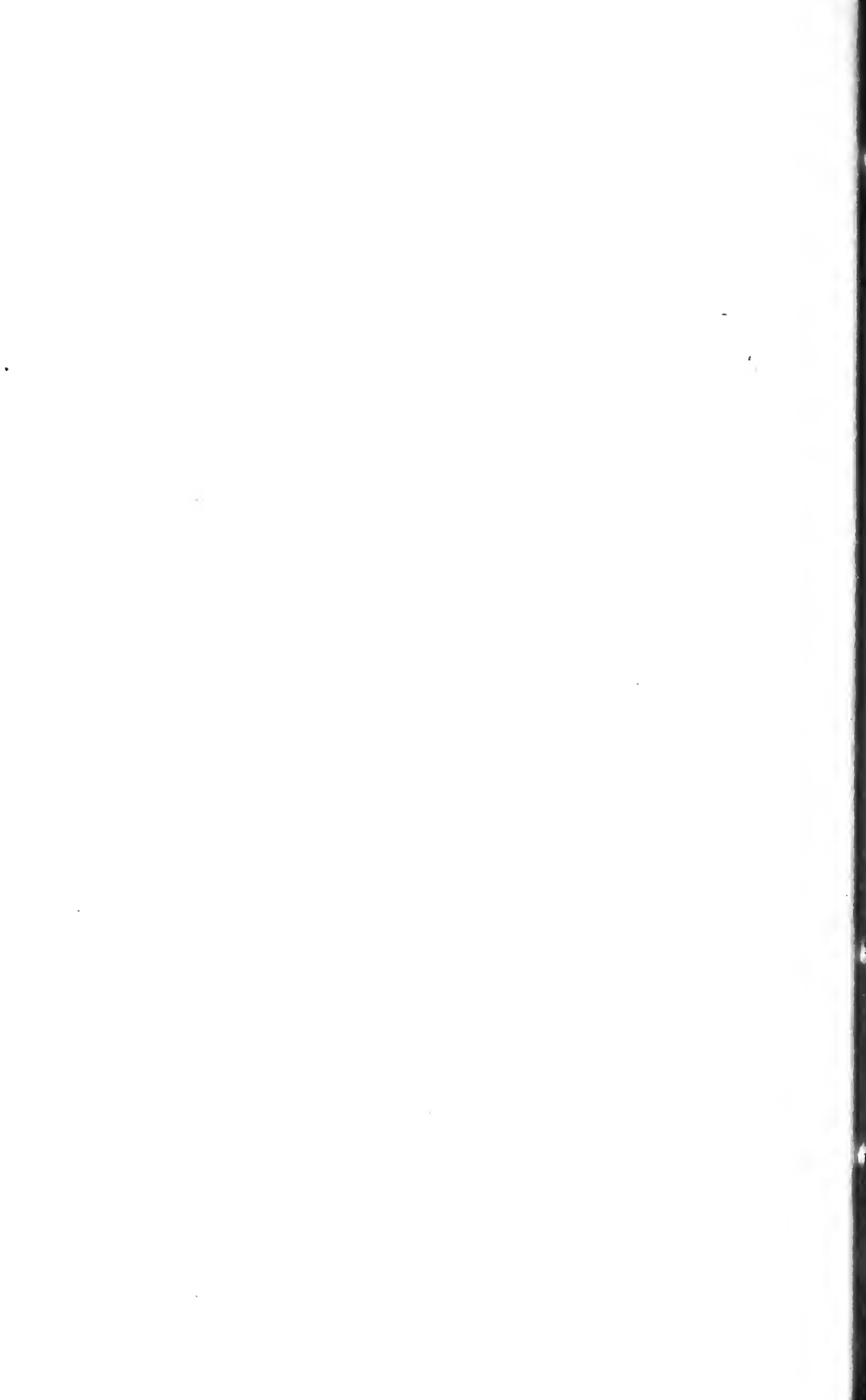


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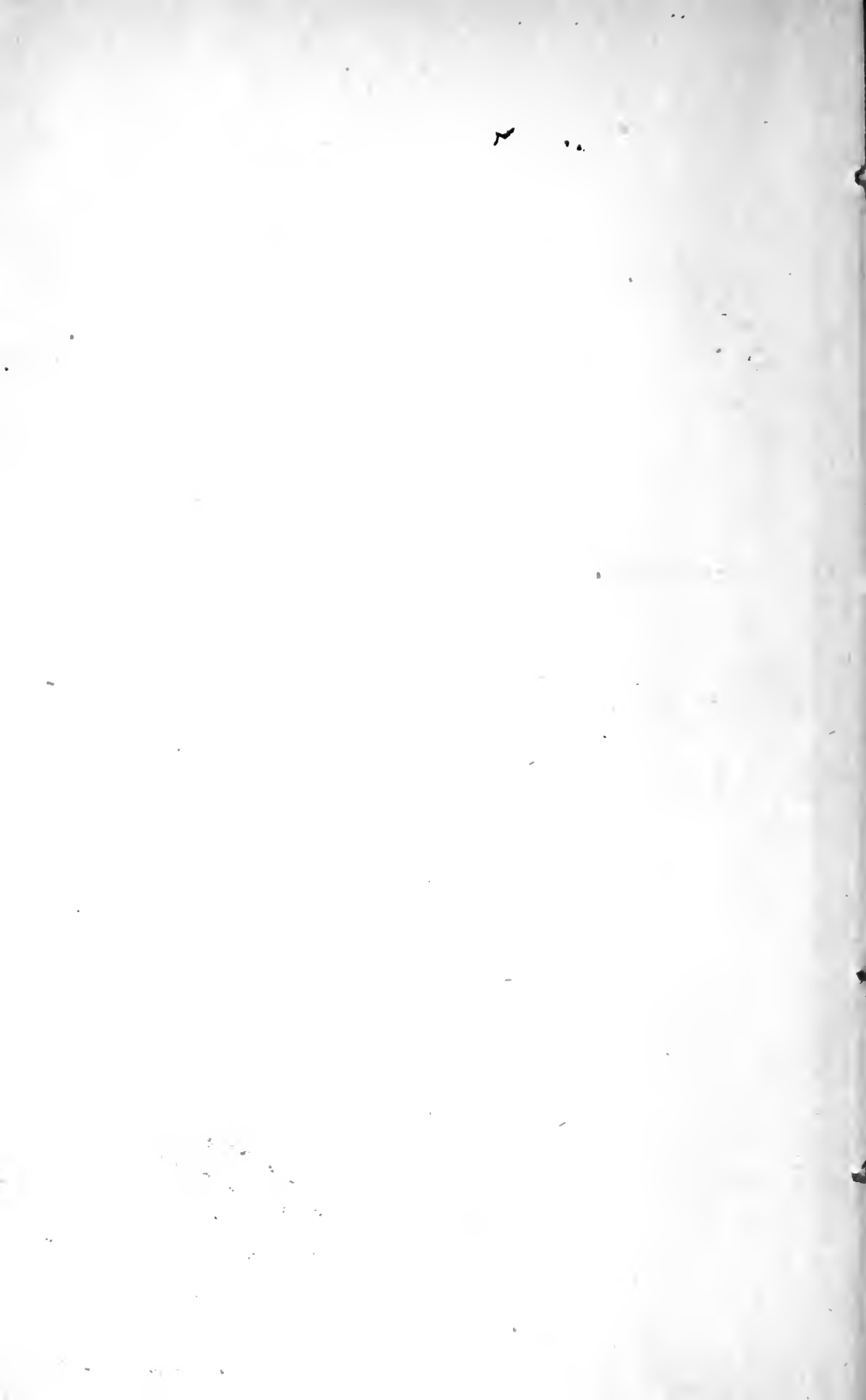
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The New Abolitionists





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THE NEW ABOLITIONISTS

A NARRATIVE OF A YEAR'S WORK

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BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION
UNDERTAKEN TO THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE
BY MRS. JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER, AND OF THE
EVENTS SUBSEQUENT THEREUPON

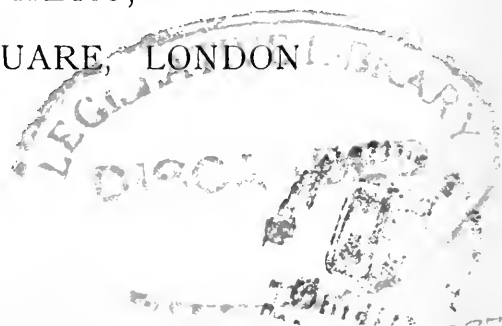
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PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE BRITISH, CONTINENTAL, AND GENERAL FEDERATION
FOR THE ABOLITION OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF
PROSTITUTION

DYER BROTHERS,
21, PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON

1876



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Brief

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PREFACE.

A WISH has from time to time been expressed by many friends, into whose hands some of Mrs. Butler's letters written during her journey abroad have come, that some collection should be made of these letters in such a form as that they might be placed in the hands of a wider circle of readers. In consequence of this wish, as many of these letters as could be obtained have been gathered together by the compilers of the following pages, and the writer's consent has been obtained to their publication. It has been found advisable to work them into the connected form of a narrative, which is here presented to the reader. Several letters, being more or less a repetition of others, have been omitted, but it has been thought desirable to leave a few containing allusions and references to other subjects than those involved immediately in the special work to which they refer, as tending to give more vividness to the narrative. Some chapters have been added, which it is hoped may serve to some extent to form a record down to the present date of the work of the Federation whose establishment was the immediate result of the events detailed in the earlier chapters. The following pages do not profess in any way to contain a development of the arguments against the system opposed by the Federation, but merely to give a record of events. All reference to the medical aspect of the question has been omitted, as it has been the object of the compilers to produce a narrative which might be generally read.

MARCH, 1876.

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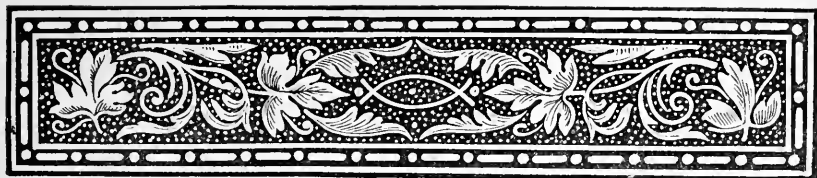
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THE NEW ABOLITIONISTS.



CHAPTER I.

“ More than we hoped, in that dark time,
When, faint with watching, few, and worn,
We saw no welcome day-star climb
The cold, grey pathway of the morn.

“ O weary hours ! O night of years !
What storms our darkling pathway swept,
Where, beating back our thronging fears,
By faith alone our march we kept.”



ON the 25th of June, 1874, a few friends of the Abolitionist cause, the progress and history of which, within a given period, is sketched in these pages, met to confer together at York.

Their conference was in many respects a remarkable one. It consisted of a mere handful of the most steadfast supporters of the cause, who had come, some of them, from long distances. All were filled with a deep sense of the solemnity of the purpose which had brought them together. It was a time of deep discouragement in the work. Those who were present fully recognized the powerful array of organized forces against which they had to contend ; they were filled with a kind of awe in the contemplation of these forces ; and the magnitude of the difficulties with which they were called to grapple was fully present to the mind of each one. At the same time every one of that group seemed animated with a

deep and certain conviction that the cause would triumph. The circumstances under which this conference took place were such as to call strongly for the exercise of that faith which alone can animate reformers to contend against a sudden increase of evil at whose destruction they aim. The voice of the abolitionists had for a time been partially stilled by the clash of parties in the general election, and in the lull which succeeded, no immediate opportunity for action presented itself; for a time even the most energetic workers were unable to see what steps for the accomplishment of this work could most effectively be taken. Under these circumstances, and having hitherto felt themselves engaged in a battle for the abolition of the State sanction of vice in Great Britain only, they suddenly became aware that a large and powerful organization on the continent was seeking to increase the efficacy of the measures employed, and for that purpose was appealing confidently to England to take the lead in organizing among all the Governments of Europe an international system which should bring the whole world within its scope. This information had been especially conveyed to the English Repeal Associations by means of a book written by Dr. Jeannell, of Bordeaux, and the principal object of the conference which met at York was to discuss the present position of the cause in relation to this new and threatening movement. Having given an abstract of the views expressed by Dr. Jeannell and those whom he represents, the Rev. Mr. Collingwood, of Sunderland, concluded a very remarkable paper read by him at this conference, with these words:—

“Observe the world-wide schemes of the enemy; they will not rest till the whole world is subjected to these immoral regulations; and they have hitherto got all they wanted, until they touched the sacred soil of England. From the moment when that desecration was known, opposition commenced. North, South, East, West, they

have marched without let or hindrance, and they dream not yet of anything but further conquests. 'What,' we may imagine them saying, 'what are trifling checks at the Cape or in the United States, or in Bombay? what is a temporary delay in England, to a party whose plans embrace the whole wide world? there are plenty of other fields to occupy; only keep up a steady fire upon England; she is the centre of the position; carry England, and you are masters of the world.' We must not suppose that it is only the Lancet, or a Mr. Berkley Hill, or a Mr. Acton, that we have to face; behind them is a kind of International League of the Doctors, supported by the Institutions of Continental Europe. What are a few women, a few noisy agitators, a few hundred thousand petitioners, a few superannuated prejudices? And we, on our part, what forces have we with which to meet science (falsely so called), and all the allies it invokes, armies and navies, and Kings and Prime Ministers, many-voiced over all the face of the earth? What with International Medical Congresses, International Conferences, Governments looking on us with contempt and anger, newspapers stamping us out, the majority of a most influential profession smiling scorn on our protests, all kinds of figures arrayed against us, even the figures of our own insignificant minority against the voice of civilized Europe, what are we to think, to do? Shall we not be content with the verdict of May, 1873, and leave the field to the undisputed possession of supervised vice? No! a thousand times, no!

"We will remember the victory over Amalek, 'the first of the nations,' by a feeble people sustained by prayer; we will think of the stripling David, how he defeated Goliath with a sling and a stone; we will mark the vanity of Sennacherib's 'great host,' and how it melted away before the might of God, invoked by faithful Hezekiah; and time would fail to multiply encouraging facts, which abound in modern as well as ancient times,

and command those who defend God's cause never to despair. Some of us must remember how hopeless we used to think the abolition of American slavery. The constitution of the United States, the political power of the South, the apathy of the North, the attitude of the religious bodies, all made it seem the wildest of hopes. But we have seen it abolished, and we will never despair in any struggle where we are sure God is on our side. It is the blessedness of history, both sacred and profane, that when all the force is spent, and the noise of the times is over, it tells us of the power of the pure, the just, the true, and the impuissance of whatever has arrayed itself against these angels of God. As 'principles are rained in blood,' so they have their dark hours which daunt no true man nor woman, but drive them to God's footstool, there to receive faith and strength for fresh encounters, and new efforts. The weapons of our warfare are not simply carnal; we believe, and therefore we speak and fight; and comparatively few though we may be, we measure not our prospects of success by numbers or weight, or metal; we recall those former Heaven-blessed struggles, in which the King's soldiers were as few and as feeble as we, and we know that we shall succeed if we faint not. When Granville Sharp, in 1772, obtained the famous decision that a slave is free as soon as he touches English territory, he did not think it one of the first steps towards the general abolition of the slave trade and of slavery everywhere; but it was so; and thus, when some noble ones among us raised a cry of horror and indignation on finding that supervised vice had presumed to desecrate our English soil, they little guessed how far their voices would reach, nor what the work was upon which they unwittingly were entering, nor what the victories which they were to achieve. But they have already been able to produce great effects in Africa, Australia, and the United States; and, though still

unsuccessful at home, we and they believe that the opposition which has commenced in England will obtain its utmost success here, and that a force of public opinion and true sentiment is being slowly generated which will cross all lands and seas, and in its progress sweep away everywhere the monstrous organization of vice against which we lift our voices to day."

These words found an echo in the breasts of all present, and from that conference all departed feeling that a new era was dawning upon the whole movement which could only lead to the final triumph of the cause of justice and morality, far beyond the limits of this country.

It is not intended here to record the progress of the movement in our own country, except so far as it is connected with the larger and more general movement. The Conference at York is cited as marking the first step in that vast expansion of the movement which has called forth a protest against legalized vice in many other countries, resulting in an organized international opposition to that modern slave system. The meeting at York did not break up without having passed a formal resolution, not embracing any large scheme, but merely accepting with approbation Mrs. Butler's proposition to open correspondence with opponents of the Regulation system abroad, and requesting the Ladies' National Association, who had already many foreign correspondents, to commence operations with a view to stimulate public opinion in continental countries.

This work of opening correspondence, in accordance with the resolution above mentioned, was, in its beginning, an apparently feeble, as it was indeed a laborious undertaking, carried on somewhat in the vague and in the dark. Mrs. Butler, having obtained a list of addresses of philanthropic workers in various countries of Europe, set herself to post a brief appeal to every address contained in it, in the hope of drawing forth some expression of

sympathy. Thus, so to speak, drawing a bow at a venture, an arrow flung into this numerous host produced a result. On the 20th of August, 1874, a letter in reply to this formal appeal was received from M. Aimé Humbert, of Neuchâtel, in which he said, "I accept your communication as providential, and recall to mind the vows and resolutions I made many years ago as to the formation of an international league against the scourge of legalized vice. In my opinion it is with much tact, I should even say with a true divination of the mysterious depths of the question, that the English association has decided to stretch forth its hand to those persons on the continent who sympathize with its labours. England alone can take the initiative, but remaining alone, she would not have arrived at a successful issue. Now that she is about to give the signal, her appeal will be heard and understood." A constant correspondence was henceforth maintained with M. Humbert, whose first act was to supply Mrs. Butler with a list of persons in many countries of Europe to whose sympathies she might hopefully make an appeal. A few weeks later a letter was received from Mr. Joseph Hornung, professor of jurisprudence, &c., at the University of Geneva, who, it appears, had followed for several years attentively the course of the agitation in England. It was a pleasant surprise to learn from this communication that this liberal and learned man had already pleaded the cause before the "Society of Public Utility" of Geneva in 1873, in an able address in which he set forth the opposition to legalized vice in England as an example to be followed in Switzerland. From the considerations raised by these letters and by other events, the idea gradually formed itself in the mind of Mrs. Butler and others that it would be desirable for her to undertake a personal mission to the continent. She anxiously endeavoured to obtain the companionship in this mission of Christine Alsop, a well known member of the Society of Friends, who being

of French extraction, and also experienced in missions on the Continent, would have been in every way the most effective aid in such an undertaking. Her great age, however, made it impossible for her to undertake so arduous a journey; but she was able to render valuable assistance by giving introductions, and by suggestions as to work in France.

The Society of Friends had recently formed an association of members of their own body for combating the State regulation of vice. It was characteristic of that Society, whose principles lead them to promote peace and united action for good ends among all nations of the Earth, that they should have realized more readily and fully than any other class of persons the advantages of the abolitionist cause, and the duty, in fact, of its promoters of undertaking some such propaganda. The idea of a personal mission was warmly taken up by the Friends' Association, who generously offered a grant of money towards the necessary expenses. The officers of that Association signed for Mrs. Butler on her departure, a letter of introduction, to be used on the Continent, from which the following is an extract:—

“We desire to express our deep interest in the work which this lady has undertaken, and to recommend her and her mission to all whom these lines may reach. While hoping that we shall soon see the end of this iniquitous system in our own country, we desire that neighbouring countries, and, above all, that France—that country to which our Society feels itself so strongly bound by ties which have acquired added strength in the years just gone by—should also be delivered from this scourge, which corrupts the morality of nations, and which is undoubtedly increased by the enormous standing armies of Europe.

“To God, also, do we commend Josephine Butler and her mission, May she be guided by Him from day to day, and may He open the hearts and consciences of those

among whom she is about to work, in such a manner that they will be drawn by the power of the Holy Spirit to take part in this holy cause.

“Signed on behalf of the Friends’ Association for Abolishing the State Regulation of Vice—

“EDWARD BACKHOUSE, President.
KATHERINE BACKHOUSE.
JOSEPH EDMONDSON.
ROBERT ALSOP.
CHRISTINE ALSOP.
J. G. BARCLAY.
GEORGE GILLET.”

Dr. Duff, of Edinburgh, also gave Mrs. Butler a very impressive letter of recommendation to all the members of the Free Church of Scotland on the Continent, to be used as occasion might offer.*

A few days before Mrs. Butler’s departure for the Continent, a meeting of women to wish her God speed was convoked in Birmingham, chiefly promoted by members of the Society of Friends. The following is a letter from one who was present on that occasion.

“York, Nov. 13th, 1875.

“To the Rev. G. BUTLER,

“DEAR SIR,

‘Hearing that our honoured friend, Mrs. Butler, has yielded to the wish of many, to publish parts of her deeply interesting letters from the Continent, I desire that you may be reminded of the meeting which took place immediately before her departure, and to which all then present, and she herself, largely attributed the remarkable success which was permitted to attend her labours, believe-

* Valuable introductions were also given by Rev. Morley Punshon, Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., Mr. Edmund Beales, and others.

ing it to have been the direct answer to earnest prayer offered up there and from many other friends elsewhere who were with us in spirit that evening. The meeting was called for the express purpose of united prayer to God on Mrs. Butler's behalf, that He would guide and protect her on every hand, and prosper the work upon which she was about to enter. The service of the evening commenced with the reading of the 91st Psalm: 'He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress; my God; in Him will I trust. Surely He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with His feathers; and under His wings shalt thou trust: His truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flyeth by day. Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.....He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways,.....Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet," &c.

"Wonderfully appropriate and comforting to the hearts of all present were the rich promises of this beautiful portion of God's word. Knowing well that their beloved friend could adopt as her own the words of the 2nd verse, 'I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress, my God, in Him will I trust;' knowing that in His name and strength she had given herself up to this call of duty, in full confidence her friends accepted these promises on her behalf, feeling assured that divine power alone could sustain and carry her through the momentous and arduous undertaking. They felt indeed that His truth would be her shield and buckler, that He would enable her to tread upon the lion and the adder (of opposition and malice), that He would suffer no evil to befall her, nor any plague

to come nigh her dwelling. After the reading, Mrs. Wilson offered prayer for God's presence and blessing on the meeting, that it might tend to the help and strength of Mrs. Butler and of all present. Mrs. Butler then gave a little account of how this widening prospect of the work had grown upon her. The necessity of seeking the sympathy and co-operation of other countries had been brought forcibly before her mind at the time of a conference at York, in June, when this feature of the subject had taken great hold of the meeting; and knowing that it could, for obvious reasons, be more successfully carried out if universally adopted, she reminded us that those who were promoting the hateful system of regulated vice in continental nations were watching with anxiety the action of England in this direction, and rejoicing to see that it was beginning to take deep root here, and that, whereas amongst *them* it was a police regulation only, here Parliament had seen fit to make it the law of the land. Mrs. Butler expressed her conviction that it must be made known abroad that many in England had determined, by God's help, to bring to an end the entire system, and desired the sympathy and co-operation of those in other countries whom she knew had long groaned in secret under the burden of an evil which they felt powerless to grapple with. From that time Mrs. Butler had increasingly felt that the task must devolve upon herself of setting a spark to the smouldering embers, and, in connection with this prospect, the words of the Scriptures had constantly been before her mind: 'I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it.' She believed the time had now come when she must give herself up to this new branch of the work. Deep and heartfelt was the sympathy of her friends on this occasion, and earnest were the prayers then vocally offered for God's gracious guidance in every step of the way, and for His protecting care of His frail but courageous child, thus made willing to set out, in His name, in the depths of a most

inclement season, to raise her voice against the wide-spread system of regulated vice. A French lady present spoke of the fearfully debasing and oppressive effects of such regulations in her own land, and expressed deep gratitude to God that He had moved the heart of an English lady to go to her "poor France" to protest against them; she argued, that if Napoleon had dared to say that he did not understand the meaning of the word *impossible*, surely Mrs. Butler might do so when she went out in the strength of the Lord, with whom, indeed, nothing is impossible. Before the meeting closed, Mrs. Butler expressed her sense of the strength and companionship the occasion had been to her; she said she should carry with her the memory of it and of the earnest prayers which had been offered; yet, while the knowledge of the loving sympathy of many hearts at home would support her in hours of difficulty and discouragement, she felt above all, that God's truth would indeed be her shield and buckler. In conclusion, she commended the work in England during her long absence to the diligent care of those left at home, believing that it would be promoted rather than the reverse by her undertaking the service upon which she was about to enter.

"Who that had the privilege of reading the accounts received from Mrs. Butler, from time to time, could fail to see and acknowledge that all the expectations of her friends were more than realized in her experience? If friends were more frequently to gather in little companies and definitely to commit this cause to God, offering themselves willingly to be made use of in any way that He might see fit to point out in furtherance of the work, might not blessings as great, and even greater than these we now record, be the result?"

"If this account is of any use to you in the preparation of the narrative, as explaining a reference now and then made in Mrs. Butler's Letters to this meeting, I shall

be glad: and desiring that great good may arise from their publication,

“I am, with much esteem,

“Yours sincerely,

“M. RICHARDSON.”

Mrs. Butler herself wrote thus to a friend, of this meeting: “As we sat, during those calm silences which I so much love in Friend’s Meetings, when God seems even more present than when any voice of prayer is breaking the hushed stillness, I did not think any more of the cold winter, long journeys, cynical opposition, and many difficulties I knew I was going to meet. I knew that God is true, and that certainly I should be able to trample on the lion and adder. My thoughts were carried far beyond this near future, and a vista seemed to rise before me of the years to come, of some great and marvellous, and beautiful manifestation of the power of God, of gathering hosts, “an exceeding great army”, before whom will melt away the monstrous wickedness which men of the world believe to be indestructable, and of the redemption of the slave.” The day following this meeting, Mrs. Butler received a letter from M. Aimé HUMBERT, containing these words: “I write to assure you that my wife and I will be in spirit with you, and your husband, and your friends at Birmingham, on the day of which you have given us notice, to recommend you to God; you and your great mission. The state of your health, the inclemency of the season, your parting from your family, the difficulties of your enterprise, the disappointments which await you—what subjects for intercession! what incitements to have recourse to Him who alone has inspired your work, who has given you the will to do it, and who perfects his strength in your weakness! I perceive that after all the encouragements which He has abundantly given you of late in your own

country, you are about to confront not only the snows of winter, but the ice which binds so many hearts on the Continent. Bring among us then, the fire of that faith which can remove mountains. The breath of the Most High can break the icebergs to pieces, and kindle a mighty conflagration. May you, yourself be abundantly fortified and blest, and may we see you here in Neuchatel, in the spring, and hear from your own mouth the record of the grace and power of God."

Words of cheer and sympathy were not wanting. On her way through London to Dover, Mrs. Butler spent an hour in the committee room of the National Association at Great George Street, where the chairman of committee Mr. SHAEN, conveyed to her, in grave and touching words the sympathy and earnest good wishes of the committee.

She reached Paris, accompanied by one of her sons, and devoted five or six days to paying visits, from morning till night, to persons whom she had any reason to believe would be favorable to her mission. In the compilation of some portions of the narrative which immediately follows, it has been thought best to rely chiefly on extracts from Mrs. Butler's letters to friends, together with some few from the letters of other persons. These letters were written with no idea of future publication, but Mrs. Butler has given her consent, at the earnest requests of friends, to have this use made of them, for it is believed that the freshness and informality of these personal communications will lend a greater interest to the narrative; on this account, also, allusions not directly to the work in hand have been frequently retained. The following extract, with some omissions and additions, is from the 'Shield' of February 1st, 1875: "It was from Paris that the medical and official wirepullers, by whose artifices, (as Mr. STANSFELD told us at Birmingham) the Acts we oppose were foisted upon the House of Commons, drew the conception of their scheme for rendering vice

innocuous. Early and late, during the bitter frost and snow that heralded the new year, Mrs. Butler has daily traversed that centre of medical and police tyranny in the execution of her mission. Before leaving England, she had arranged a list of those persons among the friends and foes of the Regulation system (and also among its victims) whom it was a part of her plan to see. One of her first visits was to M. de Coppet, from whom she met with great encouragement. He suggested that Mrs. Butler should endeavour to have a conference at the house of a friendly member of Parliament, "at which," said he, "we shall all speak out what we have kept down in our hearts so long;" and he spoke with sympathy and admiration of the great movement in England. From M. Accolas—the celebrated jurist—whom Mrs. Butler described as "full of fire and zeal against the injustice of the French system," she received a hearty welcome, as well as valuable introductions to jurists and advocates in other parts of Europe. M. Accolas is the author of several legal works; among others, "*L'Enfant né hors Mariage*," in which he exposes the cruelty of the French law, which not only leaves the father of an illegitimate child wholly irresponsible for its maintenance, but actually *forbids* any enquiry or search to be made for the paternity of such child. M. Accolas pleads passionately for the reform of this unjust law; but hitherto has done so without success. Seduction followed by maternity, becomes therefore more frequently in France than even in England the portal to misery, despair and vice, and from thence, unless she be skilled in the evasive art of the "clandestine" the betrayed mother "belongs (to use the phrase of such unfortunate beings) to M. Lecour," that is, to his "Office of Morals."

Another visit worthy of note in this hasty sketch of long days of energetic labour, was one paid to M. Henri Bellaire, Secretary to the Société des Amis de la Paix,

who, although very ill, insisted on receiving Mrs. Butler, and, notwithstanding his suffering condition, conversed with her upon the subject of her mission, surveying the work before her and her fellow-labourers in a large and calm spirit, and pointing out that the immorality they combat is a part of the system of standing armies. It was touching to her, she said, to observe men like M. Bellaire, of whom there are many in Paris, who, though sadly awake to the degrading immorality of actual France, yet continually labour towards her regeneration, in faith and hope. Pastor Lepoids, a Baptist minister, received her joyously, at once entered upon the practical question of methods of work, and undertook to call a meeting of twenty to thirty good men and true on the next day, in order to spare her the fatigue of so many separate visits. He also said to her: "I have news for you which will gladden your heart. The Secretary of our Continental Baptist Society has written to me, 'tell Mrs. Butler that *our* men, in all the departments of the North of France are with her on this question.'" M. Jules Favre, who had written to Mrs. Butler before she left England, to express his sympathy in her work, conversed with her on the whole subject, in his own study. He spoke sadly and doubtfully of the probabilities of realizing so great a moral reform in his own country, but yet resolutely as to the necessity of taking immediate steps to create an improved public opinion on the subject, expressing full concurrence in her view of the absolute equality of moral duty in both sexes. He gave her introductions to some Catholic gentlemen, urging upon her the importance (which had previously been put strongly before her by her Protestant friends) of appealing to all religious denominations for aid in the great religious work she had undertaken. He admitted that he had no faith in governmental help, reminding her that "Governments had never looked the question of prostitution fairly in the face, but

when interfering at all, had almost invariably done so in order to elevate it into 'an institution,' by which means they had increased and given permanence to the evil." He said: "Regard for the public health is their sole excuse. But even the worst that could befall the public health is nothing to the corruption of morals and national life engendered, propagated, and prolonged by the system of official surveillance. It is utterly inexcusable, and an act of supreme folly, to give a legal sanction to the licentiousness of one sex and the enslavement of the other." He uttered these words slowly and impressively, and further spoke emphatically of the necessity of women being heard on this subject. Being curious to know by what methods the French system had been introduced into free England, Mrs. Butler gave him an account of the tactics pursued, at which he appeared profoundly astonished. M. Jules Favre then gave Mrs. Butler a letter to Madame Jules Simon, and arranged to join her in a conference with that lady and her distinguished husband. With M. Theodore Monod and his wife Mrs. Butler had some interesting conversation. She found him ill-informed upon the subject, but very apt to learn, and rapid in arriving at the principle underlying what, to less honest, pure-minded men so frequently seems a "difficult" or a "complicated question." Before her departure, M. Monod knelt down, and offered up, what Mrs. Butler felt to be one of the most beautiful prayers she had ever heard, in which he humbly thanked God that He had sent a messenger to Paris to bring to their remembrance their sin and shame. M. and Madame Monod also accompanied her to a drawing-room meeting at the house of M. de Coppet. M. de Coppet had long encouraged Mrs. Butler to come to Paris. He is filled with hatred of the immoral system, and cannot repress his indignation when speaking of the sophistries by which it is upheld. He gave her every encouragement and help at the meeting at his house.

She gave, at that meeting a brief sketch of the five years' work in England, and then alluded to the projects of Continental doctors for the creation of an international system of "organized prostitution" in Europe, as set forth in Dr. Jeannel's work upon the subject. M. Lepoids was the next speaker, and he was followed by M. Appia and the venerable Pastor G. Monod. Of M. Monod, Mrs. Butler wrote: "He dwelt more than others on the illegality of the system, and the violence done by it to all the acknowledged rights of citizens and of human beings. There was something of the grand old anti-slavery ring about his speech, of the love of freedom and of justice, as well as moral purity. He spoke with indignation and fire, and with a clearer apprehension than most Parisian men, of the hideous wrong done to the *victims* of the system, who have, in fact, been pronounced by leading men at the medical congresses to be, not women, but "public merchandise," as much as any slaves formerly sold in the marts and auctions of the Southern States of America; and this is the same good man who showed in practice his regard for the poor slave, by helping me so kindly in the rescue of J. M——, bearing insult and scorn in order to deliver her from the dark prison-house of lust." All who were present at this meeting seemed impressed with a sense of the difficulty of organizing an agitation of this nature in France, but not less impressed with the absolute necessity of beginning it. Considering the political condition of France, and the mass of corruption the precursors of any such movement will have to encounter in that country, where the iniquity dates back for a century, we cannot wonder that the meeting was described as having been more sadly solemn than any which have been witnessed in England. Pastor Lepoids appeared to express the feeling of all present, when he uttered a short prayer, which sounded like a cry to God; a cry of pain, but of pain tem-

pered by dependence upon Heaven. The good pastor spoke of the equality of rights and duties between men and women, thanked God that women had risen up for the emancipation of their sex from the tyranny of vice, and that a woman had been appointed "to touch their hearts with the sharp arrow of conviction"*

Madame André Walther, of Versailles, a lady well known for her intelligence, high culture, and benevolence, came from Versailles to Paris to be present at this meeting. When she entered the room everyone rose to greet her. She is one of those women of strong mind, lofty moral character, and natural grace, who carry one back in imagination, to the time, so rich in noble womanhood, of the 17th century. Her social influence in certain circles is great, and her advice and opinion are sought by able men, politicians and others. She took her seat by Mrs. Butler's side, and, in the profound silence which followed Mrs. Butler's address, she whispered, "Give me your hand, my child;" and taking her hand, held it firmly, apparently in silent prayer, which seemed to give confidence to the messenger that the message just delivered would find its way at least to some hearts.

An interesting discussion ensued as to practical ways and means of rousing public attention, and it was agreed that another meeting should be held, in the house of Mrs. Appia.

Previously to the meeting above mentioned, interest in the subject had been aroused by a little conference called by the committee of St. Lazare (the great prison and hospital, and general dépôt for poor women and girls who are at the disposal of the "Office of Morals"). A venerable Protestant deaconess, a visitor of St. Lazare, called the meeting together. There was a good gathering. After Mrs. Butler had spoken, Madame H. M., wife of the Deputy M., said, speaking for all, "Mrs. Butler has taken away our breath. We must have time to ponder

all this. Everything seems to have been reversed. What we have been accustomed to think of as axiomatic has been disputed, or placed in an entirely new light." "It cannot be denied," another lady said, "that if the same standard of morality were required of men which they require of us women, many things would be turned upside down, and this great St. Lazare need not exist." Mrs. Butler asked of one of the habitual visitors of the prison for what offence the greater part of the young girls and women were there, and received the reply that the offence of the greater number was infringement of the "regulations." "Then they are not imprisoned for the simple fact of pursuing an immoral calling?" "No," was the reply, "for *that* they have a *permit*; but there are certain rules which they must observe, as, for instance, punctual attendance at the Dispensary, avoidance of certain streets, and seclusion in their houses at certain hours, &c." "It is thus," said Mrs. Butler, "that you educate the youth of your city, male and female, by a daily practice which tells them that this degrading vice is no sin when perpetrated in accordance with the minute and despotic regulations prescribed by your rulers, the police. You *falsify consciences*." The troubled and thoughtful reply was, "*We do*." And yet the fact seems again to be forgotten, and these Christian women are content (to use Mrs. Butler's words) "to go tinkering on at this huge mass of corruption, and pleased if they can rescue one poor victim here and another there, while the forces which are continually thrusting hundreds, nay thousands, into this slavery, and the high handed power which holds them in it, remain unattacked, even unquestioned by them. But they are honest people, and now begin to see more light." Dr. Thierry Mieg called upon Mrs. Butler, at her hotel, to inform her that he entirely shared her views, and gave her the names of several other doctors whose experience of the effects of the system in Paris,

upon the male as well as the female population, confirmed their opinion as to its iniquity, as well as its utter inefficacy to realize even the sanitary aim to which every nobler consideration is sacrificed. Mrs. Butler was accompanied and aided by Mr. Butler, who had now joined her in Paris, at the meeting held at the house of M. and Madame Appia. Efforts had been made to secure the presence here of a more general audience. There were men and women of various standing and ages, and not a few young men, students, who had been specially invited. M. Appia opened the meeting in a very able manner, giving with great clearness and force the grounds of the opposition to the immoral regulation system. Many other persons spoke, and the opposition, somewhat cynically expressed, of one gentleman present, called forth some heartfelt and earnest words from M. Theodore Monod, who, after apologising for his own tardy conversion, and declaring himself to be now "deeply convinced," added that, to suppose this crusade "impossible" in Paris, was to insult God, and pointed to the work already achieved by the fragile and delicate messenger who had come among them, as a proof of the power, even of the physically weak, when animated by His Spirit.

Madame Jules Simon invited Mrs. Butler to attend the annual meeting of the committee of management of the Professional Schools established by Madame Lemonnier, whose character and work are well known in England. Madame Simon is now at the head of the directing body of these schools, established to give professional and technical as well as general training to girls. Mrs. Butler met on that occasion some of the bravest workers in Paris. She wrote: "Madame Simon thinks my mission will not have any success, because it is 'too high and holy to be understood,' She says, and I fear there is some truth in this, that all men, even the best men, in France have been from their childhood so accustomed to look

upon this shameful evil as a legal institution, that it will require a very long process of patient educating to get them even to acknowledge that it is not honorable for governments to create and maintain such an institution."

Madame Simon, however, having, ten months later, read Mrs. Butler's addresses, published under the title of "A Voice in the Wilderness," wrote to her, Nov. 25, 1875:

"You are not under any illusion, for it is indeed at present but a voice in the wilderness; but you have no grounds for any discouragement; for those who do not understand you to-day *will understand you to-morrow*." On the eve

of her departure from Paris, M. Jules Simon wrote to Mrs. Butler that, five years ago, he could have offered her personal help, but that he had now given himself to an engrossing task, beyond which he could attempt nothing. His most sincere wishes for her success, and his respectful sympathy in her efforts, would follow her in the work to which she was devoting herself. He commended her to his friends in the National Assembly, M. de Présensé and M. Schælcher. M. Jules Favre at the same time wrote: "I shall be deeply obliged to you if you will write to me of what you are able to accomplish in your generous mission. It will make me happy to hear that you are marching straight towards the end you aim at, and I shall be still more happy if I am able to take some humble part in helping you in the good work you seek to accomplish."

"La ligne droite et tout au grand jour," "a straight path and always in full daylight," M. Humbert's motto, has been characteristic of the action of the new abolitionists from the first. Mrs. Butler, being in need of a passport to some of the official strongholds of Regulation, which only the Prefect himself could give, went to the "Bureau des Mœurs" and asked for what she required. M. Lecot was well aware of the nature of her mission before she left England. The

following is a portion of a letter addressed by her to the Right Hon. James Stansfeld: "I think I told you that I spent a part of my last afternoon in Paris, at the Prefecture of Police. The memory of that interview is so exceedingly painful to me that I feared I should be unfitted for my work if I dwelt upon it. I was struck by the grandeur of the externals of the office, and by the evidence of the irresponsibility and despotic sway over a large class of the people possessed by the man Lecour. I ascended a large stone staircase, with guards placed at intervals, and many people coming and going, apparently desiring audiences. The Prefect's outer door is at the top of the staircase, and over it, in conspicuous letters, are engraved the words, "Arrests. Service of Morals," (the arrests being of women only.) In looking at these words the fact (though I knew it before) came before me with painful vividness, that man, in this nineteenth century, has made woman his degraded slave, by a decree which is heralded in letters of gold, and retains her in slavery by a violent despotism which, if it were applied to men, would soon set all Paris, and not merely a few of its buildings, in flames. The words "Service des Mœurs" is the most impudent proclamation of an accepted falsehood. Too clearly and palpably is the true meaning of, "Service de Débauche;" and M. Lecour's conversation throughout showed and confirmed most powerfully the fact (though he himself may be blind to it) that its immorality, not morality, for which his Office makes provision. I was kept waiting some time in the handsomely furnished room of the Prefect while he finished his interviews with people who had preceded me. While seated by the fire, with the newspaper in my hand which had been given to me by a liveried servant, I heard the whole of the conversation, (it was impossible not to hear it) which passed. It left a very sorrowful and terrible impression on my mind. An elderly man was there who appeared to be pleading the

cause of a woman, perhaps a near relation, or in some way dear to him. M. Lecour spoke of the woman as one whom he had full power to acquit or to condemn, and there was a lightness in his tone which contrasted strikingly with the troubled gravity of the other, who more than once interrupted the volubility of the Prefect with the words, spoken in a voice of sullen repressed emotion, "But you have accused her." I thought of the words "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained." Such a power in a merely human, but most awful sense, is possessed by that irresponsible ruler of the women of Paris; but *his* credentials are *not divine*." Mrs. Butler then gives an account of her own conversation with M. Lecour, in the course of which it was evident that he considered that there is only one guilty party in the sin which is the curse of great cities, and that is the woman; and that the only force with which the criminality on that side can be dealt with is the force which he himself represents. "Always arrests," he said; "more and more arrests. That is the only hope." When Mrs. Butler reminded him of the profligacy of men, and spoke of the male seducers and destroyers of female virtue he replied, with a smile, "Ah but that belongs to the region of romance. We cannot touch *that*." Mrs. Butler concludes her letter by saying, "As I left his place, I felt oppressed with a great sadness, mingled with horror; and, in thinking of M. Lecour, I recalled the words about "man, drest in a little brief authority," who, "plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven as make the angels weep;" and not only that, but as make women die, cursing God, in horror and despair."

It would appear that the principle of perpetual arrests of women is not successful in diminishing the evil of which M. Lecour professes himself the enemy; for in his latest publication a copy of which he presented to Mrs. Butler before she left him, the numbers of yearly arrests are

given, from the year 1855 to the year 1873. In 1855 there were 5,676 arrests of women in Paris, in 1865 there were 6,826. In 1872 there were 11,353, and in 1873 there were 12,393 arrests. The numbers are not given beyond the year 1873. And so it will go on, the evil ever increasing, perplexing rulers, and maddening the humbler classes of the people, and poisoning the moral life of each succeeding generation, so long as men cling to this hideous institution of combined slavery and license. The desperate clinging to this Institution after its utter failure has been proved and proclaimed, even by its devotees, has been truly styled "a ghastly monomania." Mrs. Butler visited a few of the humblest of the people of Paris in the poor streets, and found very painful examples of the cruel and crushing effects of this system on the very poor and those who have no friends. There are young girls in St. Lazare whose only crime is "having no ostensible means of gaining a livelihood." They are, without hesitation, assumed by the police authorities to be living by sin. One of the unfortunate girls of Paris said to Mrs. Butler, "once in St. Lazare, and all is lost." But though easy to be entrapped and registered a slave, it is not easy to escape from the slavery. The following is an article of the "Regulations" of Italy and Spain, and describes equally the practice in France, though the French articles concerning "radiation" are not verbally identical: "When a woman desires to be relieved from the sanitary visit, she shall present her request to the Office, stating the new abode she intends choosing, her means of maintenance, or the occupation by which she hopes to support herself. Finally, she must bring forward some honorable person who will give a guarantee for her good conduct. She shall, during three months, remain subjected to one visit weekly at the sanitary office, at an hour reserved exclusively for the visits of women who are candidates for this dispensation. The cancelling of the registration shall

take place after the lapse of this period, if the conduct of the woman has always been regular." But what hope is there for the poor child who, having no friends, none to claim or vouch for her, no means of subsistence, no place of abode, an orphan perhaps, friendless and poor, nevertheless, abhors the degradation of the prison-house of shame, remembers her God, her infancy, a former home, pines for freedom, and aspires to a regenerate life?

M. Hugentobler, of Lyons, had made great efforts to arrange a conference in that city; but when Mrs. Butler arrived there, she learned that, in consequence of its being close upon Christmas, it was impossible to get people together. Every one was engaged with family and social gatherings or special religious services. All that could be done, therefore, was to make some separate calls on a few of the citizens, and to press the subject upon their consciences. Mrs Butler also met and conferred with a family party round the hearth of M. Hugentobler. These humble efforts were not unfruitful. M. Hugentobler has not ceased since then to advocate the cause, has made some converts, and roused others to a sense of personal responsibility. From Lyons, Mrs. Butler and her family went to Marseilles, when the fact of its being the eve of Christmas again prevented any conference or meeting; and thence to Antibes, on the shores of the Mediterranean. Extracts from her own correspondence shall continue the narrative.

From Mrs. Butler to her Sister, in Naples.

"Antibes, Dec. 29.

"... I must tell you when we meet of some of the persons in Paris in whose mind a change was wrought. At night after my long days of calling from house to house were over, people would come creeping up my lodging stairs to say a few words, to apologise for never having seen clearly

before, and sometimes to say they were too uneasy to sleep after hearing what I said. I fear you also have bad weather, It was perfectly horrible in Paris. I never knew London itself worse for fog and bitter cold. I could not get warm night or day. I suffered very much; and the cold made the conflict with gigantic evil seem harder. As far as Marseilles there was snow and cold, but after we got beyond the Esterelles the climate changed, and the weather we have here is beautiful, like the sunny, crisp, and frosty weather we sometimes have, in October, in England. It is very sweet, being here with my husband and sons, and resting in the sunshine, after the toil of Paris. We have had some picnics, all day out of doors, sitting on banks of myrtle overlooking the sea. I hear from home that it is one of the hardest winters they have had for many years. The travelling does not try me so much, for one can get plenty of foot-warmers and rugs; but in the hotels they give us tea half cold, and the uncarpeted rooms and sunk-back fires make one feel the cold horribly."

To Mr. Stansfeld.

"Antibes, Dec.

"I should like our friends to know how much the little faithful band of sympathizers in Paris recognise our mission as from God. There has lately been a great religious movement in France, as in some parts of England. Meetings for prayer are still held constantly. It seems also that there was among some a feeling of suspense, of expectation, almost of discomfort, in the belief that action, and aggressive action, ought to follow, and must follow, the deepening of spiritual life and the clearer apprehension of their personal relations with the Father in Heaven. They have been feeling it is not enough to meet and pray and to try for themselves to draw ever

"HE LEADETH THE BLIND BY A WAY THEY KNOW NOT." 27

nearer to God. There must be a deeper meaning in this spiritual awakening, there must soon be a call to battle. Thus, then, without knowing what had been passing in Paris, and ignorant of the fact of a religious awakening, I spoke to them what I felt, and said that the only meaning of our being on earth at all was to be combatants; that the only condition of our spiritual health is war, unceasing war, against the whole kingdom of Satan, and against all evil things. I found some of these good men pondering these matters, and I began to see the connection in their minds between this call to oppose the evil round them and the previous movement. They saw and confessed that the deepened personal life of the soul meant increased responsibility, and they recognized the guidance of God in this second call; and as the path became clearer to me, I saw how 'God leads the blind by a way they know not of.' The morning that we were starting for Lyons, with our boxes all ready, M. Theodore Monod came in for a last word. He said he had been thinking much in the night, and was just on his way to a gathering which they have in a church, once a week, for special prayer; and he begged me to commit to him some message, some charge, to take to the brethren. I felt oppressed, and it was painful to me to be deemed worthy to send any charge to such a company. I replied, that I only asked them to pray expressly for this work. He replied, 'That we shall certainly do, and also for your success. But we want a charge from you, for we are so weak, and we need to be stirred up to strong action.' I did give them a little message. His humility and gentleness were very beautiful; I thought, indeed, they were all humble, very humble, unlike many Frenchmen. Thank God with me for all His grace."

From Madame Meuricoffre to her sister, Mrs. Butler.

“ Naples, New Years Eve.

“ Midnight, 1874-1875.

“ Beloved of my soul,

“ I want to spend this solemn hour with you. My heart is overflowing with gratitude to Him whose cross you bear. This year, which you told me began with such discouragement, and with the revelation of such new, untold horrors that you would not repeat them, has finished gloriously with the carrying of the standard of the fiery cross over the sea and into another land; and you— it is as if (no, there is no *if* about it) God surrounds you with his shield. Everyone out of England to whom I told your mission said you would be insulted, outraged, in Paris, and could not do any good. Even people who believe in your mission told me of the way irreverent Frenchmen turn to ridicule anything spoken with a foreign accent; spoke of the dangers you would incur, and the impossibility of your making any impression. When they talked thus I smiled and said, ‘ *Wait and see*: this is of God, and he will justify his handmaid.’ I felt so clearly that God gave it you to do; and whatever the world may think, God knows what he is about. He is not an idealized Joss, who lives in churches. He is present among us. He can manage *even the Paris Police*. How He laid your enemies under your feet! Sometimes I got frightened because of your weak chest and the bitter weather, and I longed to be with you, that I might at least run about after you with spirit lamp and tea caddy, or muscat wine, cloves, and sugar, to cheer you. Two days ago I got your first letters to your dear husband, which he sent on to me. It must not happen that you do not get here. With all you have to do, it seems cruel to bring you so far; but it would be sweet that you

should once be in my dirty Naples, and dear George also. I recall all his kindness and goodness, since old Oxford days, until that crowning goodness of receiving us with our dead treasure as his guests, the pretty guest chamber ready for her, in spite of all the unhealed wounds the sight must have opened in your hearts. All that comes up, and we long to have you as our guests, to repay the kindness. . . . 'Your mission is too high and holy to be understood!' Is it not wonderful how people go on thinking it lovelily humble and sweetly meritorious to go on picking off a bad smelling leaf here and there from the upas tree, instead of taking the Sword of God and striking at its very tap root—nipping here and there the results of its growth, instead of cutting off the source of its life? It is the long rope of prejudice, habit, and received opinion twisting, coil after coil round men's minds, increasing itself as it goes. God gives it to some one with a stroke sometimes to break the chain, and people stand free, and wonder how they ever consented to be so chained. It is the virtuous and religious I mean, who are chained, not by vice, but by faithlessness, by timidity. It is not to all that it is given to break the chains of others, but there seems to me little excuse for any who don't let their own chains be broken."



CHAPTER II.

“λαμπάδια ἔχοντες, διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις.”

“They, bearing torches, will pass them on from hand to hand.”

PLATO. *Repub.* 328.



IN Genoa, Mrs. Butler obtained many useful introductions from Signor Matteo Prochet, President of the Commission of Evangelisation in Italy. Signor Prochet had pondered the subject of Mrs. Butler's mission for some time previously, and was not in ignorance of the evil effects of the regulation system in Genoa. He wrote, after seeing Mrs. Butler, to several well-disposed men of learning in the University of Pisa and elsewhere, preparing them for the awakening on this subject which he saw was inevitable, though it might be delayed by the reluctance which men in general feel (and pure and honorable men not the least) to face the subject truthfully and fearlessly.

In the month of March, only two months after Mrs. Butler's conversation with Signor Prochet, two Genoese journals, the “*Voce del Popolo*” and the “*Movimento*,” were counted among the many papers in Italy which have written on the question of the abolition of legalized vice, and advocated the views of the abolitionists. About the same time, among several individual adhesions from that city, the following was received from Signor Virgilio, President of the Philological Association of Genoa, a

gentleman who has been long in the front ranks of every advanced and enlightened movement in that city :—

“To Madame Edith Leupold, of Sestri di Ponente, near Genoa.

“Egregia Signora,—

“I fully agree with you and your respected aunt, Mrs. Butler. The Government may not be able to eradicate vice, but at least it must not sanction and legalise it. Why does it punish gambling? To be logical it ought to legalise the ‘roulette’ and other games. The fate of these poor unfortunate beings, who, having once fallen, can scarcely rise again, and who, in the hands of the police, are no longer human beings, but brutes, has ever excited my indignation and grief. Neither mules nor dogs are treated as these women are, of whom the ‘Questore’ (Chief of Police) disposes as he likes, without any responsibility. Legalized vice is an outrage and a stain upon civilization—a stain which all who are not deaf to the voice of duty must combine to efface. It is a beautiful thing that the movement should have been initiated by a woman, to whom the speaking of such things is more painful than any physical wound or illness. Social hypocrisy is great, and few hear the voice of duty so clearly and deeply as to hold themselves above the ridicule of scoffers; so much the greater the merit of the truly virtuous, who appreciate how much it costs a woman to overcome these prejudices.

“I should only too gladly participate in the apostleship of your noble cause in Genoa, but you know how many other grave questions I have on my hands, how many enemies I have against me, how many battles I have to fight. Nevertheless, as your views coincide entirely with my own, I shall not be slow in propagating them; and may God help us!

My regards to Mrs. Butler, whom I admire for her virtuous

courage, too rare in a woman ; yet, what is the character of the Christian worth without courage ?

“ VIRGILIO ”

Mrs. Butler wrote from Genoa : “ We had been to the cemetery to visit the grave of Mazzini. When we got back to Sestri, I found letters from home ; one from Emilie Venturi, the friend and biographer of Mazzini, who asked me to make the acquaintance, if possible, in Rome, of Joseph Nathan, whose family were also friends of Mazzini, Joseph being called after him. She told me of his recent overwhelming sorrow and bereavement which seemed for a time to have broken short the promise of a noble young life, and which has had so serious an effect on his health as to alarm his mother and friends. Mrs. Venturi spoke of his ability, and earnest soul, and believed that if some call to work were to come to him which he could recognize as authoritative or providential, it might be to him a revival of life, and of motive for accepting life, even after all its sunshine was gone, for him. I wrote to him at once, saying I hoped he would be able to help me a little when I came to Rome. ”

The wonderful progress of the work in Italy, mainly due, under the guiding hand of God, to the singleness of purpose and untiring energy of Mr. Nathan, (a gentleman of English birth, but Italian extraction) invests with a tender solemnity this first summons received by him to join the abolitionist cause. This call, reaching him in his weakness and sorrow, seems to have come to him with something of the prophetic force, imperfectly recognized though it may have been at first, of the salutation given to the young Hebrew warrior : “ the Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valour. ”

From Genoa, Mrs. Butler, leaving her sons with their relatives at Sestri, travelled with Mr. Butler and Professor Stuart, by Pisa, to Rome. The following fragments

of letters from Mrs. Butler to various friends will continue the narrative :

“ These few days in Rome have been delightful. The morning after our arrival was a beautiful day, with a really Italian sky, cloudless. My husband is so good a guide in Rome, that we need none other ; he seems to know every stone of it, at first sight, and all about that stone, even to the disputes historians have had over it ! We have made the acquaintance of Mrs. Nathan and her son. He lost no time in coming to see us. I was much touched by his appearance. We have been to the Catacombs. It must have been a real martyrdom to live there, if the atmosphere was as stifling in the days long gone by as it is now. I am going on alone to Naples, leaving my husband and Mr. Stuart here. ”

To Mr. Butler.

“ Naples. January, 13.

“ We have had an excellent meeting here. The circumstances which led to it were very affecting, and I must tell you all when we meet. You know that my one object in coming here was to see my darling Hatty, and to rest awhile with her in her beautiful home. I neither planned nor expected a continuance of my mission here : but God ordered it otherwise, and without our seeking it at all, the work *came* to us. Two gentlemen called and gravely desired to learn whether I would address a company of friends on the subject of our mission, if they undertook the arrangements. I was much touched, and somewhat surprised. I said I could not refuse their request. They then asked me to accompany them to the office of the English Consul, to ask him to preside at the meeting. We parted at the Consul's door, they to get circulars of invitation printed, and to make other arrangements, and I to confer with Hatty about the ladies who would be most likely to support us. In every step, however, the initiative was taken by others, and we only followed

the guidance which was so distinct that we could have no doubt at all about 'the Voice,' saying, 'This is the way; walk ye in it.' How often have I longed to have Hatty, my childhood's beloved companion, associated with me in this holy work. You can imagine how sweet it is to me; and how full, and tender, and penetrating are her sympathy in, and her understanding of, the whole matter. The children are very good, Thekla a most loveable little maiden. Our days are very pleasant. Hatty takes me in her carriage the most beautiful drives. The first evening the sunset was lovely. Capri and Ischia were bathed in a sweet, pale, rosy light, and the feathery cloud resting on Vesuvius was reddened and golden, and all these were again reflected in the smooth, pale, blue waters of the bay. I wish every moment that you were here. . . . At the meeting we had no expressed opposition, but I was aware of an opposing current of thought and opinion in the room, which we were able to trace to its source, namely, an English doctor. I thought he looked ominous as he entered with a great bundle of the *Lancet* under his arm; and I observed him whispering impatiently to his neighbours on each side as I spoke. It almost makes one smile to see that miserable *Lancet* brought forward as an authority in a great moral and humanitarian question like this. You can believe that Hatty and I returned to the house with our hearts full of thankfulness to God, and having arrived there, that the word of command, "Tea! Giovanni," was given with more thirsty eagerness than usual. Hatty says she believes Giovanni thinks our afternoon teas are a species of 'culto' which we 'pagani' observe with great solemnity and punctuality. It was an afternoon meeting, as you will see. I should tell you that a resolution was passed, of sympathy with the work and the workers. Our friends here look anxiously to what may be done in Rome, and think that if some of the deputies and leading men would take up the question,

and then send an invitation to them in Naples to co-operate with them, it would give the best chance for practical results here."

"Palazzo Caprioli,
"Naples, Jan. 14.

"It gave me intense pleasure to read of all the wonderful things you and James Stuart are seeing in Rome. My great desire is, like your own, that we should be able to visit Rome some day with our sons. They would make good use of such a visit. I shall not fail to look at the pictures and statues you mention, especially the dying gladiator: I hope he is with his Dacian wife and children now in Paradise. I was much struck yesterday, in our drive, with the appearance of the 'Terra Morta,' that accursed land where once the Roman Emperors held their orgies, where they had their gorgeous villas, their baths, beautiful terraces, and matchless views before them of sea and islands, and where (it was said) the most virtuous man could not breathe the air of the place without fatal moral corruption; and now the scene is all black and swampy, and volcanic; no grass will grow there, and malaria poisons those who visit it. It seems as if the place had been cursed on account of the crimes with which men blackened it. I have now seen both ends of the Appian Way. From Puzzeoli here, where he landed, I suppose St. Paul went on foot, or in an ox waggon, all the way to the Three Taverns, where friends met him. I hope you will see Minghetti. Remind him that he wrote the preface to the Italian edition of my father's life, and then he will understand. I have just received your letter, saying I can write once more to you at Rome. Post me notes as often as you can on the way homewards May God bless and protect you on your journey."

From Mr. Butler to Mrs. Butler.

“Liverpool, Jan. 22.

“I received your welcome letters on my arrival. I telegraphed to you at Rome, to tell you that I had met our dear lads at Macon, on their way homeward from Antibes. We travelled all together to London. I sincerely congratulate you on the good news contained in your letter; never was there a more striking answer to prayer; no more gratifying proof could be given that the Lord is with you. I anticipate similar good results from your intended conference in Rome. Many who are now indifferent will be compelled to look the subject in the face: they will learn that men cannot hinder the course of events by shutting their eyes, and that moral force moves the world even more than *£. s. d.*”

From Mrs. Butler to her sister in Naples.

“Rome, Jan. 21.

“I can hardly believe yet that I am separated from you, you seem so present with me still. It was a lovely evening after we parted. I watched old Vesuvius as long as I could, and could not help saying to myself, ‘dear Naples,’ for I love the place, in spite of all its dirt and drawbacks, because of the love and kindness which surrounded me there. For a long time I dwelt only on your parting look and Tell’s. The sunset light on the snow-topped mountains was beautiful: what an evening it was! and then the full moon rose on the Campagna. I was alone, and I looked out the whole time on the vast calm expanse, only varied now and then by a misty vision of the long lines of broken aqueducts and herds of cattle. It was like a dream. To day I made calls all day.”

To Mr. Butler.

“ M. Ribetti called as soon as I arrived in Rome, to arrange for a conference on Friday. The following morning Mr. Nathan came, and we went all together to the Parliament, where, as in England, one can wait in an antechamber, and send in one's card with a request to see any particular Deputy. We had a grave talk with Asproni. I was overpowered with the revelation he gave us of the working of the slave system in Italy, and its corrupting effects, politically (through the use made of the espionage by which it is worked) as well as morally and socially. Asproni and some other deputies regard the utter destruction of the system as one of the first and most essential reforms to be accomplished in Italy before that country can hope to realize the revived national life to which she aspires, and which now opens as a bright future before her. Asproni was formerly a monk, but was too enlightened to remain in that character ; and has been for many years a hard-working deputy ; he is a very honest man ; it is known by both parties in Parliament that he will never follow party merely, if his conscience does not fully concur in any proposal ; but that he will prefer to stand alone,—like our Mr. Henley. I was told that if anyone wants a disagreeable or unpopular bit of work done, or truth spoken, they turn to Asproni as the man to do it. He still has something of the shabby appearance of the monk about him ; his face is a very honest one, and his manner was gentle. He told us of the way in which the Government patronizes and encourages the ‘ industry ’ of the prostitute, even to offering prizes to those who earn enough to lay money by. [Readers who may find a difficulty in believing this statement may now refer to the ‘ Regolamenti ’ of Italy for themselves ; they have been translated in England. The following is a translation of article 39, Section III., of the Regulations

issued originally from the Ministry of the Interior at Turin, in 1860 and signed by Cavour, then Minister of the Interior. 'The prostitute, who, six months after registration, shall present to the Sanitary office a certificate proving that she has deposited a sum in the Savings Bank, shall receive a premium in money equal to a twentieth of the whole amount paid in.'] Mrs. Butler continues, 'But what Asproni dwelt on most was the unspeakable and atrocious cruelties practised on the poor slaves, and the rigid and unbending slavery in which they are retained. The prizes and indulgences accorded to these victims are simply in order to encourage them to submit to the utmost degradation and not to attempt escape; just as in America, slaves were often petted, indulged and amused, to please the caprice of a master, and to reconcile the slave to his lot. There is a deputy for Sicily, Tomajo, who is favourable to our reform; also M. Nathan thinks Magnione will be so. He was twelve years at the hulks for his opinions: men who have suffered much for conscience sake do not find it difficult thenceforward to be true to their principles. Good metal is tested and made firm by such suffering. Asproni advised us to enlist the help of Dr. Pallasciano of Naples, a deputy also: he said he lived at the Hotel d'Angleterre during the session of Parliament. I asked for him at the Hotel, but he had not yet come to Rome, Parliament having, as you know, only just met; so before I went to bed, I wrote a letter to him about my mission, as I may not see him. He gave up a post in connection with the regulation system, because as a doctor and scientific man, he declares it to be the most palpable and complete failure as a supposed hygienic measure, and in fact an enormous 'fraud.' He is not a religious man I am told, nor would he argue for the abolition of the system on the moral ground at all, but, Asproni says, he can show by irrefragable facts and statistics that the physical evils supposed by some to be checked are frightfully increased,

while dangerous social conditions are being *created* by the system. He is said to be one of the best surgeons in Italy and stands very high in his profession. I went to Madame Nathan's house, and saw Maurizio Quadrio. It strengthened me for many days, to see and speak to that dear, noble old man; he is feeble now, and looked ill. I knew something of his life, his humility, steadfastness, and patriotism, and was prepared to hear him speak, as old people are fond of doing, of his own past, and the persons with whom his name was formerly associated. You may think then how touched I was when he began at once to speak of my work, calling it 'our cause,' and 'the holy cause.' I could scarcely keep back my tears. He is a very real man; a true man. I did not like to detain him long in conversation, though his lovingkindness towards me would have encouraged me to remain. He spoke with the undying hope and confidence in the triumph of good over evil, which the friends of Mazzini seem to possess in a high degree, but he said rather sadly 'there are not many who will be willing to suffer for the cause; there are few who have *the thirst of self-sacrifice*.' His worn face and earnest eyes as he said those words, helped to make them sink down deep into my heart. I thank you, Quadrio, for those last words! In the evening Mr. Wall called on me, introduced by Mr. Birrell. He has been long a resident in Rome and is heartily with us: he told me of others who would join us. I spent the evening in writing letters to Signora Ciminio de Lima, and other ladies who I thought might come to our meeting. I have no more power to keep awake, and it is late."

"Rome, Saturday.

"Yesterday I called, as I had been advised to do, on Vigliani, Minister of 'Grace and Justice,' a member, of course, of the Government. I saw his wife, who was

kind, but he was too much engaged for conversation, and wished me to call again in the evening. Mrs. Nathan and her son came again for me, with old advocate Petroni, whose name you may know, another of those staunch men, who have suffered imprisonment and other severities for their principles. It is hardly needful to say that he is with us. We went again to the Parliament, and then to the house of Musio, a Senator, a man of high character and abilities, about whose sympathy in our cause Mr. Nathan could feel no doubt, though the matter had not been brought before him. He is engaged in some important legal reforms, which he is to introduce in the Upper House. He was not at home, but we saw his wife, who engaged us to come again. Returning to the hotel, we were joined by other friends, and went together to the meeting at Signor Ribetti's. It was a good meeting of grave men and women, who listened sympathetically. Kind — came, and straightway fell into a sweet sleep. I was glad to see him sleeping, for he is ill, and it was so *much* better for him than listening to me; I really felt grateful to him for ascending all the weary steps we had to climb before reaching the room. There was a good deal of eager discussion, no opposition, but questions asked, and objections raised with the view of drawing out the answers. Mr. Stuart, I saw, took some men in hand in a corner, and ended by clearing up their difficulties thoroughly. In the evening we went again to Senator Musio's, and had a very long talk with him, of a satisfactory kind. He seems to be a man of pure and lofty character. From there I went alone to Vigliani's. Joseph Nathan smiled as I was going; I understood afterwards *why*. The reception he gave me was cold and courteous, and the interview throughout reminded me of those dreadful Deputations to Home Secretaries, and such persons in England, of which I have had the unhappiness occasionally to be a member; you know how chilling is the

atmosphere of the audience-chamber of a great Government official, who has no sympathy with your errand. I need not describe it. It was clear to me from the first moment that nothing was to be gained here, but I remained a little longer, just to get Vigliani to express his own opinions on the subject, which were curious enough, though not new to me. He seemed immensely amused at the idea of abolishing legal prostitution; spoke, of course, of the enslaved as *not human* at all, and of the errors of men as something perhaps to be regretted, but inevitable, and to be taken into account, *i.e.*, provided for. He used these words: ‘a woman who has once lost chastity, has lost every good quality. She has from that moment *all the vices*,’ and so pleased did he seem with this theory that he smiled and repeated it, ‘once unchaste, she has *every vice*.’ But I need not tell you more about this unprofitable conversation. He asked, ‘who have you got to help you in the Italian Parliament?’ and seemed to wait rather eagerly for the answer, which he did not get! As I went down the broad marble stairs and thro’ the gateway over which the beautiful title of his office is inscribed, I thought, ‘you are ill named, Office of Grace and Justice!’”

From Madame Meuricoffre to Mrs. Butler.

“Naples, Jan. 24.

“When we came home from church this morning, I found the Carellis here, and they stayed to lunch. Mrs. Carelli gave me the news I was thirsting for, about your meeting. She did not think the people warm enough; but I always remember your dear brave words about your coming to trouble men’s minds, in the first instance. One cannot expect people to feel warmly grateful at once, for that troubling of their consciences. She told me you brought the ‘Justice’ bit into your speech at Rome. You may depend upon it I examined her severely.” Referring to some of whom help might have been expected, and

who did not come forward, Mrs. Meuricoffre continues : 'I could not help expressing my disappointment, and told them that when you were sent to us I had asked those whom I thought likely to wish to hear you, to see if God would choose any of them to come forward to the rescue of those most pitiful and most unpitied of Christ's little ones. He who looked for some to have pity on Him, but there was no man, neither found He any to comfort Him, called *us* to have pity on *these*. But none of those to whom I refer have been led into *that* work. Still, I must not for this reason judge that they are not His servants. I have faith that they are, and are working in some other way ; for in His army there are many kinds of soldiers, sappers and miners to open out roads, artillery to attack forts, troops who have an easy victory, and 'forlorn hopes,' who will never see victory, but make a bridge of their dead bodies for their comrades to march over. There are, I doubt not, many who have been elected to this work, who, when God first took them by the hand, shrank back. It was the last thing they would have chosen for themselves, but He kept them to it till they accepted it, and then taught them the sweetness of the dedication, by letting them feel how close it brought them to Himself. There is a great deal, in ordinary society, even where there is nothing bad, which imperceptibly hardens, or gradually establishes in the mind slightly false standards : and I wish to tell you how strikingly I felt that entering into and interesting oneself in your work, brought one back, every time one touched it, into realizing the Living God, His nearness to us and our dependence on Him, and forced one to measure all ones thoughts, acts and feelings, by the standard of His purity, instead of lowering oneself to the convenient and conventional standard of the world. A person whose conscience has never been wounded about this question, whose heart has never burned and bled with

pity for the woes of the helpless, devoted to destruction, in order to minister to the selfish gratification of the strong and self-indulgent, might wonder and ask, 'Why should *this* subject above all others, produce this effect?' Well, I cannot quite tell; perhaps because *in it* culminates the awful contrast between the results of man's devices when he forgets God, and the unspeakable tenderness and pity of Christ for the most forsaken and lost. He stooped to take upon himself our nature, and to minister to us. How much less is the interval between the best man or woman and the most fallen? and how he pitied them! and how awfully solemn are his warnings, not only not to offend one of the little ones, the weak and young, but not to pass them by with the cold worldly doctrine that 'it must be so.' Such doctrine rouses in me a passion of grief and indignation that some of us should be so honoured, while others, born with like capabilities for virtue and sweet family life and happiness, should be sold to men's lusts, and then held down by a network of laws and regulations; *held down in hell*. You and your fellow workers will understand well what I mean when I speak of a vital interest in this question becoming a sifting power and a purifying fire in one's own soul; I tremble for those who are obliged, or think they are obliged, to crush it out. Pray for them."

The following, from Mrs. Butler to her husband, is dated from Florence.

"The long letter I had intended to write to you is not yet begun. I have so many calls to make, and little time for writing. At Geneva, I will try to take a whole day of rest, and write to you from there. I carry with me always, in my pocket-book the prayer you wrote for me before I left England. I often take it out and read it, and my heart echoes the words, especially when thinking of you all at home, my loved ones, 'When scattered, re-unite us ;

when in any trouble relieve and comfort us ; lead us by thy Spirit, and make us one in Faith and in Hope.' Giuseppe Nathan has embraced our cause seriously and fervently. May God help him ! Quite a large party came to the station at Rome when we left ; Mrs. Nathan and her son ; Madam Mario (Jessie White) who had come to Rome to meet Garibaldi on his arrival, Sophie and Oscar, and others. At the station G. Nathan told me he had made up his mind to come on with me to the north of Italy. So he and James Stuart and I bade good bye to our kind friends and travelled together to Florence. In the railway carriage we concocted a plan for Milan, where there seems a hope of getting a good nucleus of workers. The last person I saw as the train moved away from Rome was Oscar, at the end of the platform, raising his hat to us with a kind parting smile. I fancied he had long ago left the station, and was touched by his silently watching us off. We had a lovely day for our journey. We read your letter as we went, and looked out at all the places you begged us to remark, especially Lake Thrasymene. It looked calm and blue, and there were the bare-legged boys, as you said, tending herds of pigs on the shores, (such as Virgil describes.) Assisi, St. Francis' place, interested me much. Send this letter to dear Fanny Smyttan ; she follows our work with unfailing interest, and she housed me so tenderly for two quiet days before I crossed the channel."

From Mrs. Butler to her sons in England.

"I hope we may all be in Rome some day together. It is a grave place to be in ; it carries one's thoughts almost through the world's history, and makes one realize some of the gravest crises in the history of man, and the greatest conflicts of principles which have influenced the destinies of people and of nations. One sees traces, for example, on every side, of the enervating influence of

luxury, the inevitable succession of tyranny and slavery succeeded by the triumph, either of a better principle whose vitality, crushed for a time, had kindled afresh, or else by the ascendancy of a superior race. One sees how it became necessary for the Goths to 'arise, and glut their ire.' When I looked down into the ghastly ruins of the huge proud palace of Caligula, whose walls seemed still to reek with the memory of his crimes, I felt a kind of sickness and horror, and was glad to turn to the sunny walls of the Colosseum which, (tho' crimes enough were committed within them) made me recall how the blood of the Christian martyrs shed there, testified to the faith and love which purified the world once more from the brutalities of the corrupt Empire. The history of men, of principles, of the human soul, seems to be written on the very walls of Rome. My few days of work in Rome were also very interesting. Mrs. Nathan took me to call on the wife of Senator Musio. We were shown into the large bed-room where she sat, stooping, and infirm and old, in her armchair. Near her were a number of ladies round a table, who she informed us were a committee for aiding the families of the working men. I gave her my little Italian paper setting forth the object of my mission. She read it slowly and carefully to the very last word, then she said, 'Good! Musio must see this.' She had evidently taken it into her clear, pure soul at once. Then she tapped her snuff box and conversed with us slowly and in a feeble voice, but in a way which showed no feebleness of judgment. In the evening we went again, and I was quite as much pleased with her husband, who is also aged and gentle, and high souled. I love to see such a venerable pair, supporting each other, after a long life of honourable companionship, as they wander down the hill into the vale of years. I wished for you much on the way from Rome to Florence, by Foligno. We passed all along the banks of Lake Thrasymene, and could

trace the course of Hannibal's victorious army, from the north end of the lake downwards. It enabled us to realize very vividly that disastrous conflict. There was brilliant sunshine when we saw it, but I could imagine what it would be when a heavy fog rested over the miles and miles of shallow lake, which the poor Romans thought perhaps they could flounder through alive. As we came further north, we saw some of the resting places of Hannibal's army. Nothing struck me more in Rome, than the tomb of Scipio Africanus. Out of the bright sunshine, we crawled down into a subterranean passage, and bye and bye our little guide without speaking a word, stuck his torch in front of the name, which shone upon us out of the darkness, *Scipio Africanus*. It came upon us so suddenly, and took us in a moment so very far back in time. But the pleasantest memory of all is that of the time we spent all together at Antibes. The sunshine, the hospitality, and the happy family party at the Cape, made it altogether a sweet memory. Our stay at Genoa, and all Edith's kindness too, are very pleasant to recall. Do not be too anxious about your work. The tender mercies of God surround you continually. Your loving mother."

To Mr. Butler.

"From Florence.

"Yesterday being Sunday, we spent the time rather quietly. In the morning we went to the Duomo which was full of worshippers, among whom were several dear familiar cats, who rubbed themselves up against people's legs; pious well behaved cats! no one thought of turning them out. The pleasantest hour of the day was spent in the convent of St Mark's. I remained a good while alone in Savonarola's cell, in which there are his old arm chair, his prayer books, and Fra Angelico's sweet pictures all around. It was perfectly silent, hardly anyone in the convent, which

is full of sacred memories of patriotism, and faith, and high courage. It was pleasant to be in his silent room, to picture the religious life in Florence in his day, and remember the source whence he derived his power to endure to the end, combating evil and wickedness in high places. The afternoon I devoted to seeing some people to whom I had introductions, and to day I continued that work. I had letters to Signor Quattrini and Geymonat, to Doctor Tito Chiesi, Professor E. Comba, Mr. Lemmi, M. Babbini, editor of a newspaper, and Barbera, a publisher. I called on Peruzzi, Mayor and M.P. for Florence, but he had just gone up to Rome to the Parliament. He and his wife are highly spoken of, and I cannot doubt will be our fellow-workers, one day. I called also on Doctor Rosati, to whom Madame Mario gave me a letter, but he was not at home. I had a long talk with Count Piero Guicciardini. He expressed full sympathy with our principles, but does not see his way to joining any organised work for reform. He returned my call in the evening. . . . (Tuesday,) Mr. Lemmi has been very kind and helpful. We gave ourselves time to day to see the Uffizzi gallery. Do you recollect our visit there long ago? I looked at all our favourite pictures, including the Madonna writing the Magnificat, surrounded by kind serviceable angels, one of whom holds an ink-bottle so steadily in his hand, for her to dip her pen in.

Several persons have told me, that here the system of Regulation is, for the present, practically almost at an end. This is, in part, the result of the opposition of certain country people of Tuscany, who resisted the registration of their daughters. The character of the Tuscan peasants is simple, honest, and home-loving. Mr. McDougall, a Scotch clergyman, who has resided many years at Florence, said to me: 'In character they stand as high as the peasantry of my own Scotland.' Some sad tragedies have occurred. A peasant girl escaped from one

of the Government houses of infamy and fled to her parents' cottage. She was followed by the police, who endeavour to 'reclaim,' that is, bring back to bondage, every girl who escapes. The parents barricaded their house; a struggle followed, and blood was shed. This and other incidents which I might relate, illustrating the tyranny of the system, have become public: the Florentine people have hearts, it seems; their sympathies are roused for the homes and daughters of the poor; the State regulation of vice has become unpopular, and is now very languidly carried out in Florence."

From Florence Mrs. Butler proceeded to Milan.

From Professor Stuart to the Rev. G. Butler.

"Turin, January 29.

"Mr. Nathan did good service in Milan. He is very energetic, and very kind in arranging for people to see Mrs. Butler without so much effort on her part. The conference (in Milan) was most successful, and was well attended. There were some ex-deputies, well known doctors, and other influential people of the town. Mrs. Butler's speech was partly in Italian and partly in French. She told what had been done in England, and why she came abroad, and answered some objections which she had met with on the continent. It was this latter part which she put in Italian. Mr. Nathan had intentionally asked some opponents, and they were called on to speak. A doctor called Pini, made a long speech objecting to what had been said. He was seconded by an advocate, after which Mr. Brusco Onnis made a speech in reply, which was one of the best I ever heard. You will see the sum of his arguments in the newspaper which I send with this: there is a report of the meeting on the third page. Brusco's speech made a great impression; he spoke with a sorrowful indignation. Pini again got up, and made a sort of half recantation, after which there was

discussion, and a resolution, which you will see in the newspaper, was passed. Brusco wants to have a committee formed first in Rome, and then one in every other Italian town. They seem to be confident that it can be done, and are to lose no time in setting about forming some organization on the basis of Mrs. Butler's work. There were two brothers of Joseph Nathan at the meeting, one having come all the way from Turin on purpose. After the meeting was over, and Mrs. Butler had left, half a dozen people remained talking for a long time. She also saw a number of ladies in Milan, and had a little meeting with some of them in her own room In Florence, Mr. Lemmi gave us a great deal of information; he put his carriage at Mrs. Butler's disposal, and on Monday afternoon we made use of it to take a drive to San Miniato. The day was perfectly beautiful, and the view from San Miniato was glorious; Florence lying below with its beautiful Cathedral and Campanile, and the Arno winding through the valley; the country round Florence too is very beautiful. The journey from Florence, going over the Apennines was delightful. We had to start early in the morning. It is curious to rise up and up among the Apennines, the train turning and twisting and going through about thirty tunnels, more or less long, with beautiful glimpses between them. At one part of the ascent we had a very fine view of the Tuscan plain, with the towers of Pistoja in the foreground far below us. The whole plain below us was bathed in mist, but not such as to hide it entirely. The tops of buildings and of the undulations and groups of trees stood out of the mist here and there. If it had been clearer we should probably have seen Florence, but I think we preferred the beautiful blending of mist and sunshine which the valley actually presented. During the whole journey we congratulated ourselves that you had stopped the night at Florence, so as to come through part of the journey during the day;

and the next best thing to our having you there to see it with us, was the knowledge that you had seen it not many days before."

The *Gazetta di Milano*, of the 28th January contained the following notice :

"CONFERENCE.—Yesterday evening a friendly meeting was held at the *Albergo Reale* to do honour to Mrs. J. Butler, from England, who has devoted her mind and dedicated her life to the repeal of the laws which regulate and sanction prostitution, and to the triumph of an idea which in England awakens the sympathy of all who study social problems in a humane spirit.

"The purpose of her address was to prove alike the justice and expediency of her noble undertaking. Dr. Pini and the Advocate Perelli entered the lists in favour of the laws in question, the first on the ground of hygiene and general utility, the second on the ground that they diminished prostitution.

"The well-known journalist, Signor Brusco-Onnis, and Signor Guiseppe Nathan supported Mrs. Butler's view, on the ground that for the State—whose duty is educational—to regulate vice, is to insult virtue.

"The following resolution was passed unanimously :—
'That this assembly, having heard the wise, noble, and virtuous address of Mrs. Butler, recognizes with her the urgent duty of endeavouring to do away with 'tolerated prostitution,' approves her ideas, and declares itself ready to assist her in her holy purpose.'"

Before leaving Milan, Mrs. Butler issued the following address in Italian :—

"Gentlemen! the expression of sympathy with the cause which I advocate, conveyed to me through you from the city of Milan, is deeply gratifying to me; and in the name of all who co-operate with me in this holy crusade, I tender you my heartfelt thanks. For pioneers the path

is always arduous and difficult, especially when, before building up, they have to destroy an evil, which for a long period has been corrupting the moral sense of the most civilized populations. Such is our own case. I will not, at the present time, dwell upon the fact of man having gone so far as to convert that which is in itself supremely a question of morality, into one of opportunity and facility for the satisfaction of his physical instincts, simply as instincts, and of his having, in order to attain this end, perpetrated the most flagrant violation of right and justice, by crushing one of two persons equally guilty, in order to render more easy the commission of sin for the other.

The question for us resolves itself entirely into a moral question. Even if it were the fact, which is not the case, that statistics seemed to prove that, by means of the existing system, it is possible to diminish the maladies attendant on prostitution, our cry would be precisely what it is to-day—war, war to the death against all which tends to deaden the moral sense in man, and which ultimately, must of necessity enervate the race! war against all which debases the human being to the level of the brute! We cannot accept science in any form as the *aim* of life; we accept science as a '*means*,' a sacred and indestructible means of reaching the aim. We believe that the aim of all legislation should be the gradual moral progress of the governed, and that the labours of science should be directed to the furtherance of that aim. All the statistical information we can obtain at the present day is, of necessity, of the most partial kind; for no country is as yet in a condition to produce statistics showing the results of a legislative system founded upon the idea of *duty*, and having *morality* as its *aim*; while the gradual but certain deterioration of the human race, which *must* result from a continued violation of the moral law, cannot be made evident in a single generation.

"In order to obtain pure laws and a higher morality we will lend all the force of our intellect and will.

"Will you, gentlemen, give us your aid, and do what you can to form, throughout the whole of Italy, committees which will put themselves in relation with our association in England?"

"JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER."

From Mrs. Butler to Madame Meuricoffre.

"Turin, January 29.

"I live over again in thought the sweet days I spent with you. I look back upon that time as something sacred; but it leaves a blank in my heart. I realize more than before what a loss it is to us to be so far and so long separated, and I feel more than ever the tenacity of early affection, and the ties of kindred. Ah! how often I lie awake at night thinking of those hours we spent together. It was a sunshine and happiness, to prepare me for the hard work which was to follow, and which is a suffering piece of work, though full of interest and hope. Going from city to city, tired and weary, always to meet with sharp opposition and cynicism, and ever new proofs of the vast and hideous oppression, is like running one's breast upon knife points, always beginning afresh before the last wound is healed. You understand, don't you? I utter this little cry to you, but I am not despondent. This is really only physical weakness, I think, for I have to praise God for good work accomplished, and for souls inspired to work. 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' The hour of our redemption has struck! I say 'our,' for we have not only *remembered* those that are in bonds, as being bound with them, but actually *suffered with them* in spirit, for long, long years. This may be but the beginning of the breaking of our bonds, and to our finite minds the Deliverer may seem long in coming. To the Lord a thousand years are but as one day, and one day as a thousand years; but the time is coming—is coming most surely.

One thing we know, and that is, that all this cruelty and sin, this blinding and misleading of souls, this selfish profligacy, this slaughter of the innocents, this organised vice, this heavy oppression, this materialism which sets the body above the soul, profaning the sacred name of Science, and making of her a 'procuress to the lords of hell';—all this, we know, is hateful in the eyes of the Holy God, and we know that it must *perish* before the light of His countenance, when the arm of the Lord shall be revealed, and when His own arm shall bring salvation. Even out of the depths, therefore, we will praise him, and rejoice for the day that is coming. Be strong in faith, my dear one; do not despair even for those poor captured victims, from their childhood forced into sin and shame, whose sorrowful sighing seems for a time to rise in vain to heaven. Can *we* love them so much, and doubt that God loves them far more than we? Our utmost pity is but a drop compared with the ocean of His pity for them. I feel a kind of triumph in that beautiful arrangement by which He has chosen the weak things of this world to confound the strong. It matters nothing at all what we are, provided we are but entirely willing to be made the instruments of His will, His agents in this world. I do not think we know the meaning of the word *strength*, until we have fathomed our own utter weakness. I sometimes think of the lines about the 'Steadfast Prince.'

"To these my poor companions seem I strong,
And at some times, such am I, as a rock
That has upstood in middle ocean long,
And braved the winds and waters angriest shock,
Counting their fury but an idle mock :
Yet sometimes weaker than the weakest wave
That dies about its base, when storms forget to rave.
I from my God such strength have sometimes won,
That all the dark, dark future I am bold
To face—but oh ! far otherwise anon,
When my heart sinks and sinks to depths untold
Till being seems no deeper depth to hold.'

“ Did I tell you how I had been pleasantly haunted before I left home by the words, ‘ Behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it ? ’ I often used to wake up suddenly at night with a fear lest I had been presumptuous to think of such a mission as this ; and then these words would again and again sound in my soul, and almost in my ears, as if an angel had spoken them. ‘ Yes, it is true, if *that* hand opens the door, not all the powers of earth, nor of hell, can prevail to shut it.

“ In Milan I made the acquaintance of some ladies to whom I felt very much attracted. Some of them called on me before the meeting, and sat close round me in the dusk of the evening, with earnest faces looking into mine, and with tears assuring me of their sympathy, and of their own secret sufferings concerning this evil. I arranged with them to meet me for conference next day, which they did. Madame Ravizza, a Russian lady, married to an Italian, seemed to me very able and original, as well as warm-hearted. I went to see a Mrs. Morandi, head of a large orphanage in Milan, a calm, grave woman. She seemed quickly to understand the bearings of our question. After listening some time she said, in a calm voice, ‘ It is thus that God works ; when he designs some great reform, he plants a deep conviction in the soul of one of his servants, who appears to the world a fanatic,’ or words to that effect. I went also to see Mrs. Castelli, who manages a *Crèche*. Next day I went through the Technical Schools, conducted by Mrs. Lazzati, and saw girls working happily, Mrs. Lazzati was full of kindness. Mrs. Ravizza, told me that during an outbreak of small-pox in Milan, a woman in one of the hospitals, who had lately borne a child, was apparently dying of confluent small-pox, so afflicted that it was painful to come near her : the chief cause of danger was owing to the accumulation of the milk which could not be drawn from the oppressed mother’s breast ; nothing but natural suction, it was said, could save

her life. A 'woman of the city who was a sinner' applied at the hospital for permission to perform this loathsome office. The sufferer was an object hardly to be approached without shrinking, and a perfect stranger to the other woman, who taking her tenderly in her arms, with her lips drew from her breast the tainted nourishment. The patient recovered. A doctor of the hospital said he had never seen disinterested, Christ-like love to equal this. Vigliani said to me, you recollect, that when 'once a woman has lost chastity, she has lost all virtues, she possesses all vices!' Which among the virtuous and delicate ladies of the land would not have shrunk from such an act of love, worthy of St. Francis? I also have seen acts of high, heroic self-abnegation performed by some of these despised outcasts, which reveal the capabilities of the soul within, and are a kind of desperate stretching forth of the whole being, out of its accustomed darkness into the longed-for light. The Italian newspapers are already fighting about our cause; the fire is lighted, it seems. Tell Major Osio I found his Milanese very grave and earnest. People are active and punctual there, and one sees them walking quickly along the streets, looking at their watches, as in Birmingham or Manchester. I have charged Mr. Rimond, of Geneva, who has undertaken to make preparations for a meeting there, to send out all your notes of invitation."

Mrs. Butler saw several persons in Turin, who expressed strong sympathy with her mission, and almost reproached her for passing so quickly through the capital of Piedmont, where, they assured her, large meetings would easily have been convoked. It was from Turin, that the Regulations were first issued, which have had so demoralizing an influence on society in Italy, that Signora Maria Mozzoni, a keen observer and an independent thinker, wrote thus, in 1870, of the State Regulation of Vice: "The moral effect of this institution on the

general population is very sad. The regulations imposed by the authorities on prostitution are a legal sanction, slightly cloaked, in the eyes, not only of the populace, but of educated people : legal sanction produces public shamelessness. In fact, fathers themselves introduce their grown-up sons to the houses of infamy, looking upon them as safeguards from imprudent marriages ; teachers and disciples meet there, and all look upon them simply as institutions of public usefulness. Accustomed to the encroachments of the authorities, the Italian people accept this interference of the police in private affairs as a needful provision, and do not think of the bitter hardships, the violence and slavery the miserable women are subjected to. The young men who come in contact with these unfortunate beings, who have been so carefully trained in vice, lose all generous feeling, and, corrupted before they are full-grown, they acquire that scepticism which withers the heart and falsifies the conscience. The number of the poor victims of misery and vice grows every day to excess. Marriage becomes always rarer and the number of exposed children increases fearfully."

The Italian people, including the people of Turin, have, however, now ceased to accept without protest this foul institution, as will be seen in a subsequent portion of this narrative.



CHAPTER III.

"Yes, great railroad age, who would exchange you, with all your sins, for any other time ? for swiftly as rushes matter, more swiftly rushes mind ; more swiftly still rushes the heavenly dawn up the eastern sky. The night is far spent, the day is at hand ! blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find watching."

KINGSLEY.



HE narrative of the work done in Switzerland will be best given in the following letters, accompanied by quotations from Swiss newspapers.

To Mr. Butler.

" Geneva, Feb. 2nd.

" I have been making many calls. Geneva is a very difficult place to work in ; there are such extremes of religious and political opinion. Mr. Rimond has been very helpful. I called on Père Hyacinthe and Madame Loyson. They were both out. The baby came trotting to the door, a stout little fellow called Paul ; he seemed much impressed with the little beast's heads on my muff, with shinary beads for eyes, and was very coaxing. I had a pleasant conversation with Professor Hornung, to whose house I went. He came with me in my little carriage to call on M. Budé, president of the Society of Public Utility, who spoke and voted (with Mr. Hornung) in favour of the abolition of ' Regulation ' at a meeting of that society. I called also on M. Turritini, Mr. Moynier, Pastor Borel, and others. Geneva looks very different from what we have been accustomed to see it in summer. The Jura range is

covered with snow. The lake, generally such a lively scene near Geneva, is almost deserted, and people run along the quays, with their cloaks rolled round their heads and mouths. The horses are well covered with blankets, and trot fast. I ran out at five last evening, with *my* cloak also over my head, to see the rosy sunset colours on Mont Blanc, who looked very gorgeous in his broad, regal garments of snow spreading out on all sides. Mr. — has just been calling on me, and arguing for the space of one hour, in favour of legalised vice, and the necessity of the dedication of a class of women to destruction. A nice specimen of a Christian ! He bears a high character for piety. He told me he would not come to our meeting, as he could only come to oppose, and it would not be agreeable to him to say to me what he should be compelled to say."

Professor Stuart wrote to Mr. Butler of the meeting held at Geneva :

"Everything looked very dark for the meeting beforehand ; the opposition threatened was of a different kind to that which we have met hitherto, which has been materialistic. Here in Geneva there is much talk about the police being such good Christian men, and about reclamations effected by them. Although Mrs. Butler comes out well in debate, yet debate in a foreign language gives her adversaries an advantage to start with. She therefore determined to prepare altogether a new address, and answer all the objections beforehand. She was particularly asked to go into the legal part of the question. This was no easy task, to be done in so short a time. We got Professor Hornung's pamphlet on the subject, which supplied us with many of the proper legal phrases. Our spirits fell to the lowest when a note came from Mr. Hornung to say that he was taken ill and perhaps could not come. Mrs. Butler looked anxious as the hour approached. How shall I tell you about the meeting,

except to say it was a wonderful meeting? The room was quite crowded at the hour announced. The master of the hotel was most kind, and managed the arrangements well. Mrs. Butler answered all the objections beforehand, and when the objectors were called on to speak, behold they had disappeared! They had nothing to say, in fact, for she had anticipated their arguments. But one person after another stood up, and gave in his adhesion to our cause. Père Hyacinthe spoke eloquently, and after the meeting he wrote, from his house, a letter to Mrs. Butler, which she will send to you. The state of things in Switzerland is somewhat similar to that in England. There is some attempt on the part of certain people to introduce these laws into all the other towns, but the warning will now have been given. There was an American gentleman at the meeting, who had come to Geneva for the education of his children. He made an excellent speech, in which he said that they could not expect Geneva to continue to be a centre of education, unless they got rid of this corrupting system. I was glad to hear him say this, because educating children is one of the 'industries' of Geneva, and they had better look to it, or their gains will be gone."

The following is the letter alluded to from Père Hyacinthe :

"February 4th, 1875.

"Dear Madam, I return to my house deeply moved by the words which we have heard from you. One feels that God is with you in this heroic crusade against what you have so well named 'the typical crime,' the gigantic iniquity of our race. God is with you, Madam; it is necessary that men should be with you also. I beg that you will count entirely upon my weak but sincere services, whether in Geneva or in England. I was not able to accept the invitation which you addressed to me some months ago. I wish to say to you, that if you should feel

drawn to renew it, under more favouring circumstances I should be happy to respond. Allow me meanwhile to ask you the favour of the pages you read to us, in order that I may keep them an hour. The answers to difficulties and objections were so good that I desire to read and reflect upon them more fully.

HYACINTHE LOYSON."

Mrs. Meuricoffre wrote at this time to Mrs. Butler.


"I know how some good pastors speak: 'My kingdom is not of this world,' they say, 'and we must not mix up politics with religion.' It makes my heart quail to hear them, when I realize the terrible fate of the victims whose blood cries to heaven against our delicacy and cowardice. I wish I could be with you at Geneva; I feel as if I had a right to be there. (Is the cruel *bize* sweeping down from the Jura to cut you in two?) Switzerland seems much in the position that England was in, lying asleep, to wake and find herself handcuffed. 'O God, incline them to listen to thy messenger,' is my constant prayer. I expect Mr. Buscarlet, who now lives at Lausanne, will come down and be like a brother to you; but God is with you, and he is stronger and tenderer than any brother. I am thinking of George and Mr. Stansfeld together at the Liverpool meeting."

A Geneva paper called "La Semaine Religieuse," contained a report of the meeting, concluding with the following remarks:

"In 1869, the English Parliament having passed laws throwing a mantle of legality over impurity, Mrs. Butler united her efforts with those of an association having for its aim the repeal of the laws for the protection of libertinism. Public opinion was greatly agitated; publications were issued supporting the movement, committees were formed in a large number of towns, and we already hail the dawn of the day on which the English Parliament,

which so long opposed the abolition of the slavery of the black race, will be compelled by the force of public opinion, to abolish a white slavery even more odious and infamous than that.

‘ Mrs. Butler has been for some months on the continent engaged in spreading the great principles of the English Association. She has held meetings at Rome, Milan and Paris, and has everywhere been received with marks of profound sympathy. The pallor of her countenance, which bears the traces of earnest labour, the intensity of her convictions, the emotion of her accent, and the greatness of the aim she has in view, combined to produce a profound impression upon the audience. After her lecture, several of those present spoke on the legal aspect of the question in our canton, supporting Mrs. Butler’s conclusions, and indicating the methods by which to follow out in our own city the work undertaken in England. Little is known of the system of falsehood and terror adopted in the *maisons de tolérance* in order to retain in bondage the unfortunate women who have been led there. About six weeks ago one of these unhappy creatures succeeded in privately conveying a letter to a pastor in the hope of obtaining her deliverance. The pastor gave the letter to the Chief of the Police, and upon his questioning the girl, she declared that she desired to remain in the house. One of her companions, however, who succeeded in escaping, revealed to the pastor that the mistress of the house had told her victim that should she demand to be removed, she would be conducted by the *gendarmes* to her native town in France and imprisoned for twenty or thirty months. A similar incident took place a fortnight since. Thus notwithstanding the care and caution exercised by the most excellent administration, *the system of the maisons de tolérance is a permanent infraction of the most sacred of all liberties, the liberty to re-enter the path of virtue.*”



“Les Etats Unis d’Europe” a paper directly opposed to the other in political sentiments, wrote: “We have frequently alluded to the perseverance and zeal displayed by Mrs. Butler in her difficult task. She acquitted herself with great talent, and with well merited success. At times her own evident emotion profoundly moved her audience. With irresistible force of argument she showed that the true determining causes of this scourge lie in a vicious social organisation; that the germs of this moral and physical malady are the poverty, ignorance, and neglect to which so many young girls are abandoned. She made us feel the shame and the injustice of the laws which regulate this open sore of modern society, authorising —so to speak—the licentiousness of men, by according to it a legal sanction. Mrs. Butler’s appeal was made not only in the name of Christianity; she addressed herself in the name of universal morality to all who love humanity, and we doubt not that her appeal will be responded to.”

Extract from the “Shield,” March 1st: “Père Hyacinthe remarked that other speakers had appealed to Christians, and it was well that they had done so, as undoubtedly the first and the deepest responsibility rested upon those professing the Christian faith; but he added that the question rested upon a still wider basis—upon the basis of humanity; it was a question in which every man and every woman who cared for the well-being of the human family was deeply interested; it was one in which men and women of every creed or race could unite upon a common platform, strong, wide, and irremovable. The meeting was presided over by the venerable Pastor Borel, a man well known for his self-sacrificing efforts in the work of rescuing the fallen, which he has long carried on almost single-handed, enlightened as to the abominations of the system by the goodness of his heart. The victims who desire to escape from the *maisons tolérées* frequently contrive to communicate with him, and ask his help; but, as

he is not able to enter freely into such houses for a benevolent purpose, he is obliged on such occasions to pay money at the door, and when the motive of his presence there is discovered, is often exposed to threat and insult, and frequently driven from the house.

Professor Hornung though labouring under severe illness addressed the meeting in a speech of great clearness and force ; he observed that the Government of Geneva (like the Parisian Bureaucracy) undertakes to punish "provocation to debauchery" very severely where *women* are the guilty parties, and he pointed out that this was worse than inconsistency, and might even be stigmatised as *hypocrisy* on the part of a Government which was itself guilty of the same offence. 'How?' he asked 'could a Government justly punish solicitation and provocation to debauchery in others, while it offered to the citizens a strong and constant provocation to debauchery by protecting and licensing vice?'

Two other gentlemen whose support of the good cause deserves grateful mention from us are M. Budé, President of the *Société d'Utilité Publique*, who attended the Conference in defiance of severe illness in order to support the cause, and M. Brun Wolff, who was one of the first to respond to the printed appeal sent out from England, and who, though a man of humble means, a confectioner, has for many years rescued victims of the slave system, hiding them in his house, and gaining their hearts in such a manner as to lead them back to a pure and honourable life.

From Geneva Mrs. Butler went to Neuchâtel, whence she wrote to Mrs. Meuricoffre the following letter, which refers chiefly to her visit to Geneva :—

"You will be anxious to hear from me after my troubled little note from Geneva. I had felt angry. There were proofs of sinister influences exercised to prevent my being heard, and to frighten people from coming near me. Some

of the professing Christians of Geneva are deeply in love with the system of legalized vice. What a searcher of secret motives, what a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart is this question of ours! Think of your poor little curly French dandy, of whom you expected no seriousness, showing such a true insight and clear moral sense, and going straight to the root of the matter, and then of these "deeply religious" and immaculately virtuous men who become pale with rage when they foresee a danger of their sons being deprived of 'sanitary protection' in their vices. At one time the anxiety seemed more than I could bear, and added to it, was the burden of all the terrible things I learned about the slave system in Geneva, the buying and selling of young girls, the officers and agents employed in the trade, as well as the corruption of young men, students, boys, and whole families. Pastor Borel testified to having seen school-boys entering these haunts of patented vice, with their satchels on their backs. Mr. Wolff told me what he has seen and knows, and he, elderly hard-sinewed man, with not much sentiment about him, burst into tears, and had to wait sometime before he could go on with his recital. Then Mr. — called on me, a most pious man, who subscribes to every religious work. He talked for an hour with a most disagreeable expression on his face, and trembling with passion when he spoke of the absolute necessity of keeping these women under lock and key, and in good health! (and for what purpose? O shame! shame!) He said, 'they have *chosen* that profession, they are *determined* to follow it; they cannot be regarded any longer as women.'

"We know that many of them are indeed not women, but children of tender age, stolen, sold, tempted from country homes, under pretence of being invited to lucrative service, and by lying advertisements of every kind; they are sent from city to city, from one country to another,

and imprisoned in the protected houses of shame, whose doors are, by police orders, barred upon the inmates. Mr. Wolff had just been telling me of a girl who recently flung herself from the window of one of these houses, to try to escape, and was picked up half dead ; and of many more heart-rending cases of escaped girls who were hiding in holes and corners, like the fugitive slaves of the Southern States of America. When I pleaded for pity for these women, Mr. — said, 'Bah! what does it matter? a few women! so *very few*.' At last he rose up, all his tall height, and folded his 'toga' magnificently across his chest, and said that it was after all too delicate a subject to discuss with a lady, and that he could not pretend any sympathy with me. He refused my offered hand at first, but slowly gave me the ends of his cold fingers. It was an effort to me to offer him my hand. I always feel as if I were untrue to my poor, fallen, enslaved sisters, shut up in the prison house of this system, when I give my hand to any man who delights in the system ; but I try to remember that the heart may be changed, and that the man may yet repent. I was full of anger that day, and felt quite faint ; but I tried hard to feel only that kind of anger expressed in the words, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, if thou hadst known, even in this thy day.' I thought of Geneva with its glorious traditions, of Switzerland with its noble republican principles, and its comparatively pure faith ; and by the time I had to speak, sorrow was stronger than anger. The people, I could see, were moved. The light fell upon the audience, as I stood with my back to the windows, and I saw rows of old grey heads, and venerable faces ; such a number of elders ; and some of the elders were weeping. I asked those who believed in Christ to look at what Christ had done, in dying to redeem every woman in Geneva whom they had registered on their register of shame, outraged, degraded, and given over to

Satan. I told them what their country would come to, and that *soon*, if, with all the light they have, their open Bible, and their free institutions, they went on thus to crucify the Lord afresh and put Him to an open shame in the persons of His poor sinful but redeemed ones, the outcast, the weak, the young, the friendless, the orphan, the deserted wife, the needy widow ; for these it is who mainly form the ‘personnel,’ as they dare to call it, of the prostitution of which they have made a patented industry. I said to them, ‘You will go, some of you Genevese people, after having heard these words of warning,—you will go, in your self-righteousness and blindness, and try to extend this hideous system to the other parts of Switzerland. Perhaps you will succeed. Well ! it will be the knell which sounds the death of your liberties ; by this law you will establish a systematic education of a corrupting nature : you will, by this law, say to your young men, to your own sons, “Behold, we offer you a class of women, degraded, prepared, and maintained in good health *by your country*, which recognises your appetite for impurity as a thing worthy to be provided for.” The impure appetite, thus stimulated and encouraged, will increase, and will become, in two or three generations, a voracious and indomitable passion, and you will have at last succeeded in producing an emasculated and enfeebled race. You will destroy *the family*. When you have sanctioned and in a manner consecrated prostitution by your laws, do not imagine that marriage will long continue to be deemed a holy thing.’

“I long to hear of some practical results ; there will be strife, I hope. They say, ‘Is it peace, Jehu ?’ but Jehu answers, ‘What have I to do with peace ?’ We will never give them peace while our fellow women are being driven by thousands down to hell, while over the door of every one of their abominable licensed houses is written, ‘*Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che*

entrate.' There is never a woman of bad character to be seen in the streets of Geneva. Never seen—how beautiful! They are carefully *locked up*. Nevertheless, the moral corruption of the male population is not less, but rather more than before. There may be evils *even worse* than our wretched London streets. No individual solicitation can possibly have so soul-corrupting an influence upon the young, as the state-offered, state-sanctioned, state-protected solicitation of that organised and regulated vice which the State thereby assumes to be a necessity. I was touched to see Mr. Budé at the meeting, evidently suffering much, wrapped in a shawl, and leaning on a stick, his cheeks flushed and eyes half closed with fever; he is a humane man, and has pleaded against cruelty to animals. We find, as we might expect, that our friends in this cause are full of horror at the atrocities perpetrated by such men as Schiff of Florence. I was so glad to see Mr. Buscarlet; he is gone back to Lausanne, and will see if he can get a meeting there. Madame Bridel also came, and several other of your Vaudois friends. Madame Goegg brought a party of friends to the meeting; she has been very kind and helpful to me."

To Mr. Butler.

"Neuchâtel, Feb. 5th.

"I am safely here, in a most lovely room, high up, overlooking the lake. I feel, at times, very lonely. But the few last days have been busy and anxious, and it is good to have a time of quiet and solitude. I shall rest and hold communion with you. The view before me is strangely beautiful. There is the expanse of pale blue lake, with the line of snow-covered hills on the farther shore. The winter evening sunshine on the distant snow brings out all sorts of pale opalesque colours, which one does not see in summer. There are numberless fleets of snow-white gulls floating on the blue waters. At this

moment the sun is setting, tinging with gold the mists floating over the lake and reflected in the waters. An hour ago there was a heavy fall of snow; large soft feathery flakes filling the air. The flocks of gulls sat motionless on the water while it lasted; the soft snow gathered in a little mound on the back of each, till they looked like perfectly round balls of floating snow with a beak and bright eyes. When the sky cleared they all rose, apparently at a given signal, and wheeled round and round in the air with joyous cries, shaking the masses of snow from their wings and making a second little snow-storm. I think they have a sense of humour and fun about it. I had hard work in Geneva. James Stuart worked very hard there for the cause; he addressed two hundred invitations to the meeting, and wrote and copied many letters in French. The same forms of appeal, or invitation, served for many people. I trust he will not suffer on the journey home, and will reach Cambridge safely. The time spent in Rome with you appears to have been a great refreshment to him. To-morrow there are two meetings here; Sunday I rest; on Monday I have to go up the Jura to Chaux-de-Fonds."

"Neuchâtel,

"Sunday, Feb. 7th.

"We had two excellent meetings yesterday. First, one for ladies, which was largely attended; and in the evening, one for men. I feel quite at home among these Swiss ladies. They remind me strongly of our Scotch or Northumberland women,—honest, hospitable, warm-hearted, sober-minded and practical. I soon found, too, that they have a sense of humour, which is a great help in one's intercourse with people, even when it is a grave and sorrowful subject which brings us together. I went to the little "Eglise Libre" this morning, where the singing (in parts, and without any organ) took my soul

right away, up above the snow. The words of one of the hymns were composed by Corneille, the French tragedian, shortly before his death; the music suited the words, which were penitential. After the service, M. Humbert took me to the cemetery on the hill side, overlooking the town and lake. One part of it, to which he conducted me in silence, resembled a little battlefield; a complete forest of little dark wooden crosses. It was the burying place of the French soldiers who died in such numbers at Neuchâtel during the Franco-German war, when the churches, schools, and even private houses of the Neuchâtelais were converted into barracks and hospitals for the sick and dying and scattered army of Bourbaki, and when the people of Neuchâtel vied with each other in heroic devotion to these victims. It makes one weep to hear the countless stories of humble, unrecorded griefs and woes among the direct and indirect sufferers from the war. They told me many in the hotel, where the large *salle-à-manger* had been used also as an hospital. M. Humbert stopped at the head of this battlefield of little crosses, and allowed me to recognise, without a word from him, a humble obelisk of white stone, on which was cut the name 'Aimé Humbert.' It was the grave of his eldest, I think his only, son, who fell a victim to his devotion in nursing the soldiers who had small-pox. Madame Humbert is, by natural character and by the grace of God, exactly fitted to be a fellow-worker with her husband in our crusade, to which they seem about to devote themselves. I must tell you that when she first felt that this question was approaching their home, she was troubled in spirit. She felt, 'We have fought many battles, I and my husband; we have had our day of toil in some good works and reforms; we are getting on in years. May we not now rest a little? Must we at this advanced period of our lives go forth again to engage in a conflict more serious and

sorrowful than any other we have had to do with?' She felt as if some secret power were drawing her to accept the work, and yet she felt a reluctance. When I saw her calm, kind face, full of steady purpose, there were no traces of this inward conflict. Her husband told me that even at the moment when she was tying on her bonnet to come to our first meeting yesterday, the tears were in her eyes, expressive of some lingering regret or sorrow; but when she returned from the meeting, her face was all smiling and happy. She hesitated no longer, and then *peace* came; that peace which shall remain unbroken, whatever the toils, and pains, and temporary anxieties, and sorrowful sympathy with suffering she may have to go through. I have received every possible help and kindness from the master of this hotel (Bellevue). I grieve to be so long away from you and my dear home. But the time will not be long now."

At the Conference for men which took place at Neuchâtel, after Mrs. Butler had addressed the meeting, M. Aimé Humbert spoke as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—After all that you have just heard from Mrs. Butler, I believe I am expressing not merely my own impression, but yours, when I say: assuredly, we see before us an exceptional mission,—such, for example, as that of Elizabeth Fry on behalf of prison-reform. What response shall we make to the appeal which has been addressed to us by Mrs. Butler?

"We are not, it is true, in the same situation as the associations which she has mentioned. The reformist agitation in England aims at effecting the repeal of laws protective of immorality. In the first place, no *Federal law* analogous to these exists in Switzerland. Legislation relating to public morals is within the province of the several cantons. Then, again, in the canton of Neuchâtel, the criminal code takes cognizance of vice, and

visits it with correctional or criminal penalties, as the case may be, without consideration of person or sex. We have, then, a legislation protective of morality, and which admits neither exception nor reservation. I may add that in general it is respected, especially in our chief city, which is, perhaps, of all Switzerland, the town the most exempt from the scourge of prostitution. On the other hand, in our principal industrial centre, at Chaux-de-Fonds, houses of prostitution were established some years since, as in Geneva. The fact is public and notorious, and it has already called forth the remonstrances of the synod of the National Church of Neuchâtel; which have been without result. Consequently our situation is this: We have, I repeat, a legislation protective of morality, but this legislation is openly violated in a portion of our territory. Thus, instead of seeking, as in England, the *repeal* of a law, the enactment of which constituted an innovation, we have to demand the strict *observance* of the existing law. If we do not do this, we sanction by our silence a state of things worse than in England. There, at least, there is no longer any *legal hypocrisy*; the law declares openly what it intends to tolerate. Here, on the contrary, the prohibition of vice is held to be complete; it is officially proclaimed, and, nevertheless, in one portion of our territory, all the crimes and misdemeanours which fall under the ban of the penal code are daily committed with the full knowledge of every citizen.

“Gentlemen, without respect for the laws, there is no true Republic. The law, Mrs. Butler has told us, is a sort of conscience. If a good law becomes a lie, it tends to deaden the national conscience and to deprave the people just as much as a bad law could do. Let us, then, have the courage of our opinion! If our law is good, let us compel its observance; if, on the contrary, we judge that we ought to substitute for it the toleration

of immorality, let us boldly legalise vice! I am persuaded that this will not be done. A law of tolerance is an impossibility in our canton. Neither our present Grand Council, nor any Grand Council of Neuchâtel, will ever sanction it. Could an institution exist in our Republic of Neuchâtel which braves the legislative power, and subsists in spite of public opinion? Such a thing would be the commencement of the downfall of our Republic. And what description of institution is it, for which we should have to introduce a *régime* of privilege incompatible with our constitutional guarantees? An institution which is, in itself, a flagrant violation of individual liberty, and of the equality of all the inhabitants of the country, whether men or women, before the law. The inauguration of legal prostitution is nothing else than the triumph of brute force, the conservation of police despotism over the weaker sex—the protection of a white slave-trade—in a word, the organisation of female slavery.

“But hygienic considerations are invoked. We are told that certain contagious diseases would thus become rarer or less pernicious. Well, let us admit for an instant—what I consider by no means proved—that this assertion is incontestable. I will tell you of another contagious disease, which, wherever this system obtains, becomes ever more deadly and less rare. It does not, indeed, attack any single organ of the human frame, but it withers all that is human—mind, body, soul. It strikes our youth at that unhappy moment when first they cross the threshold of the abodes of state-regulated vice; and when they recross that threshold to the purer air, oh God! what fatal deed has not been done! For them the spring of life has no more flowers; the very friendships of their youth are polluted, they become strangers to all the honourable relations of a pure young life: and thus it is that more and more in these days we see

stretching wider and wider around us the circle of this mocking, faded, worn out, sceptical youth, without poetry, without love, without enthusiasm, without faith, and without joy. And yet this is the generation on which the hopes of our country rest!

“There is something truly mysterious in the way in which a social scourge makes its way and propagates itself; but what is still more astonishing, or rather more admirable, is the means by which Providence puts an end to it. When Wilberforce had consecrated his life to the abolition of the slave-trade, when Mrs. Beecher Stowe had made the cry of conscience, protesting against the slavery of one of the great families of humanity, resound over two worlds, and when, nevertheless, the abolitionists, instead of acting, were still asking themselves, *What shall we substitute for slavery?* how shall we supply its place when it is abolished?—then it was that the slave-holders themselves rashly brought about their own ruin by suddenly breaking with legality!

“For some time past, gentlemen, have Jules Simon in his work *L'Ouvrière*, Victor Hugo in his *Les Misérables*, Stuart Mill, Acollas, Hornung, and many other writers, denounced the crime of female slavery, and declared it the duty of democracy to provide for the extinction of prostitution. Many applauded; but the thing would have ended there, had not the advocates of legal prostitution in Great Britain themselves solicited and obtained from Parliament an official sanction of the system of slavery. Then—not till then—the system was unveiled in the full light of publicity, and publicity is fatal to it; for, on the one hand, vice cannot bear the light *in a country where the press is free*, and, on the other hand, no *law* of Parliament can, in the mind of the British nation, over-ride the *Charter* of its ancient liberties, the first among the great nations of Europe, to formulate the guarantee of personal rights. The Charter

of our little country of Neuchâtel is of still more ancient date (1213). The first compact of alliance of our Confederates belongs to the close of the same century (1291). *Individual liberty* founded alike the greatness of England and the happiness of Switzerland. We cannot, any more than the English, permit slavery upon our Republican soil. It may not be allowed an entrance there, whether official or secret. Let us all mutually unite to protect liberty and justice from the evil which threatens them in common.

“Mrs. Butler, who has long been engaged in this combat, sees in the Act of 1869 a providential event. Her mission will prove to be for us a providential event, the opportunity which we must quickly seize in order to act upon our Canton and upon Switzerland, and to associate ourselves with the great reformatory struggle which is coming upon Europe, and, sooner or later, upon the whole world. I propose that this very evening we adopt such resolutions as will enable Mrs. Butler to take with her an effective testimony of our entire sympathy.”

[At the close of this Conference, a committee was formed at Neuchâtel, to watch over the interests of public morality.]

The Rev. G. Butler, on reading the report of this meeting, wrote from Liverpool, as follows:—“I have read M. Aimé Humbert’s speech with great interest, and with admiration for the manly, law-abiding spirit which pervades it, and for the eloquence of one passage in particular, where he speaks of the lowering effects of a life of sin on young men. I never read anything which moved me more.”

Mrs. Butler continues as follows, in writing home:—

“The regulation system in two towns in Switzerland, is, I believe, established by a vote of the town council, in the absence of any cantonal or federal law to sanction it. One of these towns is Chaux-de-Fonds, to which I

went, from Neuchâtel, at the earnest request of some of our Swiss friends. An excellent committee was formed at Neuchâtel, on which there are two medical men, one of these being Dr. Guillaume, who is well known on the Continent, and who attended and spoke at the International Prison Congress in London two years ago. He has collected statistics on our subject for some years past, and is convinced of the evil results of the system we oppose. Chaux-de-Fonds is perhaps not much known to English people. It is the largest industrial centre in Switzerland—a young, rapidly increasing, and flourishing community. There is no poverty there. Money is quickly made and quickly spent. Anyone who has read Bret Hart's descriptions of rapidly formed American centres of industry, will understand the elements which exist at Chaux-de-Fonds in a less degree. It is a kind of 'Roaring Camp;' there is much evil there, but also much good. The town is on the top of the Jura. I was warned to take every warm wrap I had, for the cold was many degrees greater than at Neuchâtel; and indeed I found it so. Even the extraordinary beauty of the vast expanses of snow, the black pine forests of enormous trees, with their weights of heavy clinging snow, the glimpses of the distant Alps, stretching from Mont Blanc to the Weisshorn and Monte Rosa, scarcely gave me courage enough to hold out against the cold as we ascended. Madame Humbert kindly accompanied me. As I came near the town, however, I found I had not come among cold hearts. Several men met us, with fur wrappings about them, and faces full of kindly welcome, and stood with heads uncovered until the sledge started for the town. The deep snow made the town very silent; no rattle of wheels; only the soft sweeping sound of the sledges flying swiftly about, and the musical ringing of the horses' bells. I found a large gathering of women. It was an excellent meeting. Madame

Courvoisier, a woman of strong understanding and full of grace, immediately after I had finished speaking, engaged some of the ladies to meet again very soon at her house, to form a committee, and to begin at once to act; and I have since heard that they have carried out their intention. In the evening there was a meeting of representative male citizens of Chaux-de-Fonds, but *not* the men who have introduced the French system of legalized vice there. I do not clearly recollect the details of that meeting, for I was almost frozen. The school-house where it was held had not been successfully warmed, and I could scarcely distinguish the faces before me for my own breath, which interposed like frozen vapour! After I left the room there was a discussion, earnest and animated, which, I was told, it would have done my heart good to hear. A committee was formed, the first object being to fight this battle in their own town. It will be interesting to hear what they do. Some French people had come from Paris and established houses of ill fame on that mountain top, among those prosperous, industrious people. They requested to be licensed. The town council granted the license; and organized prostitution and legalized vice now flaunt themselves there, in the face of all protests. But I think it will not be for long. If, however, they do not yield to remonstrance, a large petition to the cantonal council would be useful in drawing public attention to the principle we fight for. If that also should fail, a petition to the Federal Parliament would, I suppose, be the next step to be taken. I liked the people of Chaux-de-Fonds; they are people of few words and prompt action."

"Lausanne, Feb. 12th.

"I left Chaux-de-Fonds very early in the morning. The stars were still shining brightly and the faint dawn was just appearing when I started in the sledge through

the silent streets. When I got to Neuchâtel again, M. Humbert met me, eager to learn what had been done up there. I had an hour to sit beside a bright log fire, and drink some hot coffee, while talking to him, and then I went on, the same forenoon, to Berne. At Berne M. B. de Watteville met me at the station; he had had letters and telegrams from Neuchâtel, telling him that this was a vital question which was at the door. I had two meetings also at Berne. The first almost immediately on my arrival, a full meeting of women; the second was in the evening. This was a very grave meeting; it had been convened by printed circular, signed by six leading citizens of Berne. It would have interested you, I am sure, most deeply, to hear the tone and quality of the speeches made in the Federal capital of Switzerland. The citizens who spoke reminded me of old pictures at Augsburg or Nuremburg, where the good burghers, leaning on their staves, nod grimly and speak stern things to each other. The meeting was unanimous as to the principle. There were four or five doctors there. I was struck there, and elsewhere in Switzerland, by the fact that their medical men have not yet swamped every characteristic of manhood in the *doctor*; they are men first, citizens second, and doctors only third. Whatever their estimate of "physical effects" may be, they do not allow these to over-ride the first principles of justice towards their fellow-citizens, nor do they shut their eyes to the danger to freedom which would be incurred by the introduction among them of police espionage and irresponsibility, in whatever form or degree. Some of the speakers declared their belief that this call to vigilance and combat had come most providentially at the right moment; for there has been, and will be, a very distinct though crafty and subtle effort among certain people to introduce the system, or some approach to it, into Berne and other towns of

Switzerland. As soon as our friends begin to work, there will be opposition ; no doubt it will brace them, like their own winter frosts. I could scarcely recognise Berne, which I have always seen before in hot summer weather. I had no time to pay a visit to our old friends the bears, but left the next morning for Lausanne. Hatty had prepared the way for the meeting in Lausanne, by writing to many of her Swiss friends in the Canton Vaud ; and her letters, I found, had awakened a sense of responsibility in the minds of many who had not suspected the near presence of so deadly an influence in their own beautiful and prosperous country. As the train ran down through the vineyards towards Lausanne, I recognised all the places which were so familiar during the happy summer weeks we spent with her and Tell in their beautiful home on the lake in 1869, just at the time when that wicked Act was being pushed stealthily through a sleepy House of Commons in hot July and August weather ; and I reviewed mentally the life of toil and conflict which many of us have lived since that time, and thought of the life of toil and conflict which may yet be before us. Once we may have had doubts of victory, but now, I thought, we labour with a faith as immovable as those 'everlasting hills' which I saw before me. I never saw the Dent du Midi look so beautiful. The bases of the mountains were all invisible, wrapped in mist, or melting gradually into the blue of the lake ; their summits seemed much higher consequently, and almost detached from earth, one mass of sunlit snow, pure beyond imagination, beautiful beyond all words, strong watchmen and fair sentinels of heaven, reflecting, it seemed, something of the glory of the presence of God. I wished my hard-working fellow-labourers in England could have seen that sight. I passed quite near the dear Gordanne ; the trees being leafless, I saw it plainly ; and also Rolle, Aubonne, and Morge, and the Castle we visited."

The *Pilgrim*, a Swiss journal (Berne, February 20th, 1875), in an article entitled "A Struggle against Vice," reported the meeting at Berne. It described the "humanitarian work in England begun by certain earnest men and women who recognise the fact that fornication is one of the sins which most surely efface the image of God in man. These men and women (the writer goes on to say) justly maintain that experience proves that *that which is not forbidden by the law, may be regarded as permitted by the law, and that which is permitted by the law will be regarded as well done.*" He adds:—

"This is a sad but undeniable fact, and this it is which renders the authorization of these houses of evil resort so dangerous. The public flaunting of patented vice on the ground that the health of the people is protected by it, is an error and a lie. The vice of the streets is *not* diminished by it; the chemists have no less vigorous a trade. All that is gained is an arrangement which is *convenient for debauchés who have money*; while the same immorality, and the same physical penalties—probably even greater than before—exist outside. Patented vice—a luxury for the rich—induces greater and more frequent indulgence among them, and the humbler classes follow their example.

"These Englishwomen are remarkable; they unite with their great freedom a dignity seldom seen elsewhere. It is a proof that we were not mistaken in our appreciation of Mrs. Butler, that she produced the same favourable impression upon our ladies, and it is well known that on this subject women judge very severely. A profound impression was produced upon those present when this pale and timid lady reproached strong men for the crime of trampling upon the weak, in the persons of the unhappy fallen women. It was extremely touching to see how lovingly she spoke of the lost women. We have not dared to associate women with us, as is done in

England, in this work of moralization. Mrs. Butler, an instrument prepared by God Himself for this combat, brings to us troops of female auxiliaries whom many men will fear to meet, and with good reason. May God bless this noble work in England and on the Continent."

From Mrs. Butler to Mrs. Meuricoffre.

"Lausanne, Feb. 13th.

"My work is over in Switzerland. A hard ten days' work rather. My evenings are rather lonely, and the cold at times is bitter; at Chaux-de-Fonds it was really cruel. But it is over; and I can only see the good part of it now. At several places, committees have been formed. Switzerland has responded wonderfully. Let us thank God! As in Italy a man was found to devote his life wholly to the work, so in Switzerland a man has come forward, ready for any service; it is M. Humbert. Is it not touching to see how God prepares hearts? I have asked him to meet me in Paris, that we may try and find a man in France also who will give his life to the cause. I got your precious telegram to-day. It seemed to bring a breath of southern warmth into the cold. There is a terribly sharp wind to-day. I long to hear from you again. . . . I feel as if I had found you again after many days. We shall now, though parted for long, weary seasons, work in heart and in prayer at least together; hope, believe together, and together 'watch for the morning.' . . . I wrote my last letter home in one of those large Swiss railway carriages, with tables and chairs, and a nice fire in the corner. I was alone, and piled logs of wood on my fire, and was quite warm, and at ease. They fence out the cold perfectly in the houses here. It is only out of doors that one feels it. The scenes on the Jura reminded me of pictures of the winter retreats of chamois, or of bear-hunting in Norway. Those enormous pines, such as George drew, look so

handsome with their loads of newly-fallen snow and pendants of icicles, like jewels, in the sunlight. I was asked to go to Bienne and Bâle, but I could not stay. I regret most of all not going to Zurich. There is life there, and it will join us, I am sure. But I feel I ought not to delay longer here. Our meeting here was a most excellent one, of men and women, in a church. Mr. Buscarlet spoke after I had spoken; he had in his hand a copy of the *Edinburgh Daily Review*, which he had just received from Scotland, and out of which he read, translating it as he went on, part of the speech of Mr. Stansfeld at Edinburgh, and giving the statistical proofs, so ably stated by him, of the physical failure of these laws. It was listened to with great interest. After every meeting in Switzerland some practical step has been agreed upon, and I have confidence that the separate efforts will develop, ere long, into a connected, organized work. It has been agreed that the speech made by Professor Aimé Humbert, at Neuchâtel, shall be printed and widely circulated. This is being put in hand at once. I was glad to hear a citizen of Berne say, with grave conviction, that he believed the greatest obstacle they would have to contend against in Germany would be from the German habit of judging, which denies to woman her place as man's equal, makes her the mere housewife and child-bearer, and gives her no voice at all even in these matters, which concern women most terribly and closely. This, he said, would be a dead weight; but they must fight against it, protest against it; for it was upon this equality, and the equality of the moral standard for both sexes, that the whole reform we seek must rest for its success. I was glad to hear this sentiment from a German-speaking Swiss, and to hear the same conviction, in other words, strongly expressed by others. Another Swiss gentleman said it seemed to him that it would be around *this* ques-

tion that the great battle of the 'droit de l'individu,' *the principle of personal responsibility and freedom*, would be fought in Europe—that right which the party of privilege, the absolutists, on the one hand, and the socialists on the other, destroy or deny. I had a most pleasant evening at the Buscarlets'. I love Madame Bridel. She has written to her son-in-law, M. E. de Préssensé."

From Mr. Buscarlet to Mrs. Meuricoffre.

"Lausanne, Feb. 13th, 1875.

"Your sister has come and gone, and left many wishful that she could have held another meeting here. Several of our doctors sympathize with her, but none of them could be present, and several of the members of the judicature and municipality were not able to attend. Still she was satisfied with her meeting, and we shall soon form a committee *de surveillance* in the first place, as the legalized crime has not been established yet in this Canton. Nevertheless it has been spoken of; and what will not men do to get money? At Chaux-de-Fonds that is the motive of many for getting and keeping up these infamous houses. Everyone, both at Geneva and here, was impressed by the nobility and compassionate spirit of your sister, and I could not help thinking of a phrase uttered in one of our religious Conferences here lately, *à propos* of Deborah: 'Quand les hommes cessent d'être des hommes, il faut que les femmes deviennent des hommes' ('When men cease to be men, it is needful that women should become men'). We have utterly failed in our duties in this respect, and by our silence, *laissez-faire*, or actual cruelty in legislating as we have done, have given women a right to rise up and protest that 'the law of the strongest' shall no longer be considered the best. Christ came to destroy the works of Satan, and Christians should ever be up in arms and ready to march against all such diabolical machinations

as those which ensnare and bind these poor fallen ones. People seem to ignore their anguish, or else to forget that the greater their degradation the more need to see that the laws are made so as to facilitate their rescue, and not rivet their chains. The law should be a terror to evil-doers, and not do away with the terror of evil-doing. They have had a great meeting in Edinburgh, and Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., has shown the utter impotency of these laws, and proved by Government statistics the increase of the evil since they were passed. I wish I had been in Naples when your sister was there, but I fear I might have burnt my fingers in seeking to expose the hollow selfishness and ignorance of some persons concerning the generous and truly human feeling, and that which is both *just and merciful* in the treatment of this question. . . . Surely compassion is the most characteristic feature of all Christ's work, the Divine outcome of charity in presence of the sinner suffering for his sin. Mrs. Butler was so pleased to receive your telegram ; she was evidently tired, and no wonder. We held the meeting in the large Chapelle de Martheray. May God bless you all, and enable you to love and serve Him who has so loved you.

“ Ever yours truly,

“ AMABRIC F. BUSCARLET.”



CHAPTER IV.

“The holy law of Jesus Christ governs our civilization, but it does not yet penetrate it. It is asserted that slavery has disappeared from European civilization. This is an error. It exists still; but it weighs now only on woman; and it is called Prostitution.”—VICTOR HUGO.

A second visit paid by Mrs. Butler to Paris will be described in her own letters.

To Mrs. Meuricoffre.

“Hotel Wagram,

“Paris, Sunday.

“**T**O-MORROW I shall begin work again; we are to have a Conference on Tuesday evening, and another on Thursday. It has been a week of terribly severe weather, and my journey over the Jura, and especially from Pontarlier down to Dijon, was very trying. It was so bitterly cold that several of the passengers became quite faint and ill. The snow was so deep in some places that the train had to stop several times till the way was cleared, and plunged heavily through drifts. I never felt cold equal to it. It was pain to breathe the air; and even in the carriage, with foot-warmers, and my large rug wrapped round me from head to foot, I could scarcely keep my senses. The cold made me fall asleep for very faintness, and you can imagine the state of the thermometer when I tell you that when my hand dropped out of my muff once while I was asleep, I awoke with a sharp pain across it, as if a knife were cutting into the bone. It was near midnight when I arrived at Dijon. My lips were

so stiff I could hardly ask for what I wanted. God sent one of His angels to me there, in the form of a sweet comely chambermaid at the hotel, a middle-aged woman, who seemed touched by my loneliness and faintness. She made a large bright fire of logs, brought me hot tea and every comfort, sat with me till quite late, and returned to me very early in the morning. She seemed to do everything with the promptitude and perfectness which is inspired by love rather than a sense of duty. At such times I cannot help recalling that meeting at Birmingham, and the words spoken then,—‘He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.’ How faithful we find Him to be, when we abandon ourselves to His loving care! I am sure my dear people at home need never ‘fret.’ M. Humbert arrived to-day from Neuchâtel, having travelled all night; he has been working very hard for me. He was out for several hours, and on returning told me of a long and hard encounter he had had with Mr. ———, whom we have so often been urged to see; a man most highly spoken of, possessing considerable power, and holding a good position. He argued bitterly in favour of the legalising of vice, and used many arguments which, however, told entirely on our side; but he would not allow M. Humbert to show him that they did so. He upheld his theory by religious arguments, and quoted Scripture. Poor M. Humbert came back looking jaded and weary, and said several times as he sat with his head leaning on his hand,—‘Ah! it is a hard crusade, a hard crusade.’ It is indeed; and I know nothing harder to bear in it than the encounter with professing Christians who violently and obstinately maintain prostitution—that is, the ruin of women as a provision for the profligacy of men—to be a necessity. No wonder that there is a reaction against the Churches and their teachings in the minds of some of our workers, who have not been brought face to face

with the Christ Himself, and do not perceive how He is mocked and crucified afresh by these His professed followers,—slaves of the false conventions of society, if not hypocrites. M. Humbert is new yet to the actual strife in this crusade, though he has fought many a tough battle for principle. ‘Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin.’ This Paris gives me a kind of sickness and sinking of heart the moment I enter it.”

To Mr. Butler.

“Paris, Feb. 16th, 1875.

“I have seen many people to-day and yesterday. I had an interesting conversation with Mrs. Craven, author of ‘*Le recit d’une Sœur*.’ She told me what the Catholics in Paris are doing for the advancement of social purity, and gave me letters of introduction to some people engaged in this work. From her I went to see the Princess Cariaty, who received me very kindly for Hatty’s sake. She also is a Catholic. Then I went a long drive, some way out of Paris, to see the Abbé (now Monsignor) Rogerson, who seemed quite pleased to speak of Dilston and old times; he told me that Cardinal Manning was in Paris, on his way to London from Rome. I went to his hotel, but did not find him. As he had kindly offered, before I left England, to help us, I wrote to him, and asked if he could give me any introductions which would be of service in my work. He replied very quickly, and sent me a letter to Père Petitôt, who is now a great preacher in Paris, and bears a very saintly character. I called twice on Père Petitôt, but he was not in the house either time. His courteous old servant seemed to regret much that I could not see his master. I then called on M. La Caze, also a Catholic, and a member of the National Assembly, who is associated with M. E. de Préssensé in the work of bringing out a report on St. Lazare, being members of a Commis-

sion appointed by the Government to enquire into the condition and character of that hideous institution. I found M. La Caze a true gentleman of the old school, full of goodness and a high sense of honour; he reminded me of some of our old Northumbrian Roman Catholic gentlemen of the liberal type. But I do not think he caught the meaning and purpose of the mission on which I am engaged. Perhaps it is more difficult for persons accustomed to be guided in all their actions by the Church, to appreciate the necessity or worth of a personal initiative in any reform. The Catholic clergy of Paris have taken up the temperance movement, which however is not so terribly urgent a movement here as at home; the working men of France are comparatively free from the horribly demoralizing influence of drunkenness, the curse of our poor English working men. Nothing has interested me so much as the glimpses I have had of the lives and character of the French workmen. There is surely much excellent material there, if it were rightly used. I asked some workmen if they could get together a meeting of their class, to confer on our subject; they told me, and a working man also informed M. Humbert, who made enquiries for me, that it would be easy enough to get a hundred together (I believe more cannot be called together without the leave of the Minister of Public Instruction), but that it would be dangerous to do so. And *why*, do you suppose? Because, said these men, out of that hundred there would probably be twenty-five, or thirty, or more, who had a daughter, or a sister, or some one connected with them, in the St. Lazare, or in one of the licensed houses, and that any words spoken on the subject, however cautious, might act like a spark upon a train of gunpowder. When asked 'But how so?' the reply was, 'There is too much *hatred*,—hatred of the police authorities, and of the whole *régime* which drills the daughters of France, like

soldiers, in the service of debauchery. It is evident that many of the blue blouses of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the Belleville Quarter, are honest, sober, home-loving men. How little understood by us in England was the meaning of that noble proclamation of the Commune which, being 'hostile to slavery,' proclaimed the abolition of every house of prostitution in Paris, and the freedom of the miserable slaves inhabiting them, and which called on the citizens to recognise the necessity for women of freedom to labour with their hands for an honest livelihood.* Such an act might 'cover a multitude of sins,' I think. I have seen something of the vice and misery of these streets in coming home late sometimes, but I dare not write too much of this. How do they dare to say that London is worse? I know London also. Here, the road to hell is gilded, lighted, smoothly paved, beautiful, artistic, just a gentle slope, down which youth may slide easily without being suddenly checked by any disgust or too much offence to good taste. His initiation is so cleverly conducted, and he is let down so lightly, gaily, and gracefully into the Inferno, that his senses are confused, and he has hardly time to draw his breath before he perceives himself in the midst of all the crowning abominations ever devised by human wickedness, and surrounded by beings trained in the utmost refinements of impurity. . . . I

* The following is an extract from the Decree of the Eleventh Arrondissement of the Commune, May, 1871 :—"Considering that, even before the gigantic war undertaken by North America for the abolition of slavery, the traffic in slaves was forbidden, and slave-merchants severely punished ; and that the suppression of standing armies, which came into force on the day when the communal revolution arose, ought to carry with it the odious traffic of sellers of human beings ; that in principle we cannot admit the commercial *exploitation* of human beings by other human beings, and that the so-called Tolerated Houses have essentially this character : be it enacted—Art. I. The so-called Tolerated Houses shall immediately be closed in the whole of the Eleventh District, and seals shall be placed on the doors of these establishments."

called on M. Louis Blanc, who lives quite near to this hotel, in the Rue Rivoli; he was not at home, so I wrote to him, and have to-night received a long letter from him, which makes me regret that I missed him; for it is a candid letter, expresses sympathy with the principles we advocate, and does justice to our motives. He mentions at length some of the arguments of our opponents, but more as if he had heard them, and would like to hear them refuted, than as if they were his own. I must now seek some rest."

The following was written by Mrs. Butler to a friend, after her return to England :—

"March, 1875.

"I could not see the Lourcine Hospital without an introduction from the English Ambassador. I called at the Embassy, and sent in to Lord Lyons the letter of recommendation which Lord Derby had given me before I left home; and his secretary wrote for me the needful letter to give to the hospital authorities. This hospital is for women; the Midi is for men, for the same class of illnesses. The statistics of the Lourcine and the Midi, and also the statistics from the general hospitals of Paris, must all be taken into account and carefully studied before formulating any conclusions on the medical side of the question we deal with. I procured some large volumes of statistics of the general hospitals, in which there are columns devoted to numbers of cases which one would suppose to come under the classification of the special hospitals I have mentioned. I do not think they are taken into account in the general statements made to us occasionally by regulationist doctors. They show how terribly Paris must be scourged by the physical penalties of her own vices. I must tell you when we meet of that *world* contained within the walls of St. Lazare. I went to the great prison. Just as I arrived at the stone

archway leading out of the street to the big gates of the prison, a huge prison-van rolled in under the arch, drawn by stout horses with clattering hoofs, and followed by *gens-d'armes*, also on stout clattering horses and grandly dressed and armed. The van was on high wheels, and had apparently no window at all; strongly secured, and dismal to look at,—like a big hearse, only yellow. People fell back as if rather awed, and the great iron gates rolled open; the *cortège* rattled in, and in a moment the gates rolled back again. I tried to make my way through the gates in the wake of the prison-van, but there was no time, they closed so quickly and looked inexorable when shut. What powerful ruffians, do you think—what dangerous, strong-sinewed criminals were they conveying with all this show of armed force into the prison? The van contained only a few poor, weak, helpless *girls*, guilty of the crime of not ministering to impurity in accordance with official rules. O manly, courageous Frenchmen! ever athirst for 'glory,' how well it looks to see you exercising your brave military spirit against the womanhood of your own country! You cannot be expected to govern your own passions, but you can at least govern by physical force the poor women of your streets, and swagger to your hearts' content in your hour of triumph as you proudly enter the prison gates with your trembling caged linnets. But no! miserable men, you cannot even do this; you are beaten by your own women. They cannot meet you on stout horses, with helmets and military swagger and police tyranny, but they beat you with other and more deadly weapons. We speak much of women, under the vicious system we oppose, being the slaves of men, and we realize all the tyranny and oppression which has reduced women to so abject a state; but since I have been in Paris I begin to see the picture somewhat reversed, in a strange and awful way. You can understand how the men who

have rivetted the slavery of women for such degrading ends become, in a generation or two, themselves the greater slaves; not only the slaves of their own enfeebled and corrupted natures, but of the women whom they have maddened, hardened, and stamped under foot. Bowing down before the unrestrained dictates of their own lusts, they now bow down also before the tortured and fiendish womanhood which *they have created*. Till now I never fully realized Nemesis in this form. I was reading Whittier's description of an insurrection of negro slaves, brutalized by servitude,—

“ And, painted on the blood-red sky,
Dark, naked arms were tossed on high;
And round the white man's lordly hall,
Trode, fierce and free, *the brute he made*;
Those who, erst, crept along the wall,
And answered to his lightest call
With more than spaniel dread,—
The creatures of his lawless beck,—
Were trampling on his very neck !”

Just as truly, though it is less perceived, are the men of the modern Babylon the slaves of the ‘brute they have made,’ who is trampling on their very neck, and in fear of whom they plot and plan and scheme in vain for their own physical safety. Possessed at times with a sort of stampede of terror, they rush to International Congresses, and forge together more chains for the dreaded wild beast they have so carefully trained, and in their pitiful panic build up fresh barricades between themselves and that womanhood which they proclaim to be a ‘permanent source of sanitary danger.’ If it were not too awful, one could almost smile to see these brave men trembling at the very thought of any ‘female’ being at large who is not the property of some man. M. Lecour, in his last book, appears to regard every woman who is not under the immediate rule of some man, as he would a volcano ready to burst forth under his feet. You will

see how his terror has driven him to contrive a scheme by which all these terrible single women shall be netted by the police and held fast. His scheme is too horrible to speak of. Take the case of a man who abuses the good gifts of nature to brutalize himself by excess in wine : that passive agent, in itself unconscious, and incapable of motive for good or evil, becomes to him a fiery scourge, his tyrant, and he its slave ; 'in the end it biteth like a serpent.' Much more, and in a far more awful sense, does abused womanhood become the fiery scourge, the torment, and the tyrant of the men who systematically outrage, in her, God's best gift. Just so far as the soul of a woman is above all inanimate things which are susceptible of abuse, so far is the punishment of the man who outrages it increased. It is true he does not become the slave of the woman, but merely of the *female*. Yet, inasmuch as she is not a mere inanimate thing, like intoxicating drink, nor a mere animal, but is endowed with intellect, affections, will, responsibility, an immortal spirit, and inasmuch as men have turned *all this to poison*, so is the vengeance suffered by them in exact proportion. The men of this day who are guilty of the deliberate and calculating crime of organizing and regulating the ruin of women, are preparing for themselves an enslavement, an overmastering terror and tyranny, compared with which the miseries and enslavements brought about by other vices, terrible as these are, are but as the foreshadowing of a reality,—

'The curse which thro' long years of crime,
Is gathering, drop by drop, its flood.'

Already they cringe, abject slaves of the tyrant they have created ; they are ruled, cajoled, outwitted, mocked and scourged by her. They rave at and curse her, as a wretched dypsomaniac will curse his intoxicating drink, madly grasping it all the time ; and they will continue to curse until their emasculate race becomes extinct.

“But to return to my story. A couple of surly-looking guards at the gateway of St. Lazare did not answer me when I asked how I was to get in ; as I persisted, however, one said, ‘Vous pouvez battre,’ jerking his head over his shoulder towards a smaller and heavily iron-barred door. Yes ! I could ‘beat,’ no doubt, but my thin hand against that thick iron door made no sound or impression at all. I thought it rather typical of our whole work on the Continent, beating away at the outside of this strong Bastille of misery and horror. Then the words came back to me :— ‘I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it.’ I went into the street and took up a stone, and tried beating with *that*. It succeeded ; a solemn old man in livery opened ; I gave him M. Lecour’s letter, desiring that they would show me the whole place ; and, after looking at it narrowly, he passed me on to the care of a nun, the second in charge. . . . I visited every hole and corner of it : it took a long time. I could not help quickening my steps a little sometimes, as I went past places where the suggestions of horror were more than I could bear. . . . In the central court of the prison, where a few square yards of blue sky are allowed to look down upon the scene, troops of young girls were taking their hour of prescribed ‘recreation,’ namely, walking, in twos and threes, round and round the sloppy and gloomy yard, where bits of half melted snow were turning into mud. It was a sight to wring the heart of a woman—a mother ! Most of them were so very young, and some of them (go and see for yourself, and then you will know I am not exaggerating) so very sweet, so comely, so frank, so erect and graceful, in spite of the ugly prison dress. Well might Alexandre Dumas exclaim, ‘O besotted nation, to turn all these lovely women, who should be our companions in life’s work, wives, and mothers, into *prostitutes* !’ But that was not my thought at that moment : my heart was

pierced with thoughts still more bitter and sorrowful. These girls are not all Parisian ; they come from all the Provinces, and some from Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and England. There were uncovered heads, of abundant golden and auburn hair of every shade, as well as black ; blue eyes, that looked as if meant for mirth and innocence, and plenty of fine dark eyes, with soul and thought in them. I was not allowed to speak to them. Never in my life did I so much long to speak, and I fancied *they* wished it too. I said in my heart, ' O God, I may not speak, and they may not hear how much I love them ; have mercy on them ! ' I *looked* at them with all the love I could possibly press into my face—the love and the pity which were rending my heart ; and I think they must have read it, for their steps slackened as they came round, and they paused when they got near me, with looks of kindness, or gentle curiosity, or yearning sympathy. What dear friends I could have made among that crowd of young victims ! How intensely they looked at me, and I at them, in that oppressive silence ! I could not bear it. When you hear people talk of the heartless, artificial, or hardened harlot of Paris, think of *these*, who are the raw material, fresh from nature's hand, out of which Babylon manufactures her soulless wild beasts who become a terror to their manufacturers. I saw also in St. Lazare women grown old in misery and vice, but I will not say that even they looked to me incapable of a return to good. . . . And there are other places, dear, if you can bear to hear, where the harmless, *soulless* are kept. There are women, quite young, whose reason has fled, whose mind has been crushed out of the frail body by the grinding tyranny and foul treatment of the dispensary, and licensed house, and Bureau, by police, and doctors, and 'mistresses.' There is nothing left but the poor shell. Men may still dishonour that, but they can no more defile the mind,

for it is gone. You may read in Duchâtelet how many become idiotic or lunatic. In Paris, you can see them. . . . One sat with her hands loosely on her lap, the picture of an empty, unconscious ruin; sometimes there is a look of terror, a wild searching round the room with the sad, soulless eyes, as if expecting something to fall and crush her, or as if seeing the approach of some dreaded face; and sometimes a piercing cry, like that of a wounded hunted animal. One could not but be glad that the mind had taken flight beyond the tyranny and the shame; but what a sight! O God!"

Portion of a letter to Joseph Edmondson, and other friends.

"Paris, Feb., 1875.

"I write to you, dear friends who may care to read this letter, a last letter before leaving France, and I want to tell you once more how wonderfully God has worked in this matter. I am filled with awe and gratitude when I think of it. I see His hand in all, and I think your prayers have followed and surrounded me; were it not so, I should hardly know how to account for many extraordinary interpositions when I was in extremities, and the kindness I have met with in every place. It is a touching history, and I now want to beg my friends in England not to be wanting in faith any more concerning this foreign work. I felt last autumn that most of my friends agreed to this part of the work because I wished it, rather than because they saw for themselves that it was a logical sequence to and a necessary expansion of our home work. Oh! if they could only see how hearts on the Continent are leaning towards England in this matter. We all fancied that our England was the only country which felt rightly, the only people which had *groaned* as just and good people under this evil and tyranny. It is not so. In *no* place which I have

visited have I found a complete acquiescence in the evil ; and in every place there has been, at one time or other, some active opposition, breaking out here and there. But the evil has been too strong, and Governments have been too strong. Protests, however, have been made in almost every city at some time or other. Good and noble souls have laboured in secret, heroically, to try to undermine the system, and some have suffered persecution and contempt for the cause. I tell you all this because I want you to see, as I do, how providentially it seems that the open appeal to international effort should have come from England now. I want you to see how God has been training us, not for our battle in England alone, but for this battle of principles all over Europe. I am convinced that we should be simply fools if we were to be contented with achieving our own repeal victory. What do those English people who care only for the interests of England suppose would happen if we were to get repeal ? Would they go back to their politics, their homes, their families, and be in no more danger ? Not a bit of it. If we left the Continent unmoved and unhelped, we should not be safe for a year on our own soil. Whence did this particular evil come to us ? Did it not come from the Continent ? And what would hinder the infection from again invading us ? But when once the open conflict is begun abroad, the case will be altered. I have heard a great deal in Paris about the first visit of those English doctors and 'milords' who went over to learn all about the Paris system in order to imitate it ; and I know what was paraded before their eyes. But that would not happen again, when once the conflict is publicly aroused. Instead of finding a calm, smooth surface to this putrid dead sea, upon which the English aristocratic Regulationists thought they could safely sail, they will find everywhere a troubled sea and conflicting elements ; and

their weak brains will be too much confused by the noise of the war to venture on an attempt to persuade England again that it is an admirable thing to do in this matter as our neighbours do. But we have stronger motives than these merely national ones to make us take an interest in the struggle in other countries. Principles are of universal interest. I wish, however, to urge the motive of self-preservation and the common-sense view on those who cannot feel towards the people of other lands as if they were brethren, and who cannot see that principles know no geographical boundaries. I have had three meetings here. One a little private one for ladies, which will bear fruit, I think; one a conference of gentlemen, at which M. Ed. de Préssensé presided and spoke energetically against the system, and at which several doctors were present. An unanimous resolution was passed, and it was agreed to form a committee. The third meeting was a very strange one; a democratic gathering of the oddest possible mixture. I felt much sympathy with the people present, who seemed to feel the wrongs of women and of the poor. It was the most numerous meeting we have had. I soon perceived, by the sentiments which they applauded most generously in my address, that I had a most sympathetic audience. All that was just and tender, all that expressed sympathy for the people, for the weak and the young, was responded to most feelingly. But I saw still more how sympathetic they were when Advocate —— got up to oppose. He said all the common and some of the shameful things which our opponents say; they use the same arguments all the world over. When he uttered the first of these sentiments, he seemed a little taken aback, and I myself was pleasantly surprised, by the burst of scorn and anger from all the women and from most of the men there. He went on, but the women moaned and hissed and protested. It did my heart good to hear these French-

women! — went on, and got excited, and tried to fling back the scorn of the women. He, however, got more and more into the mud; and when he declared that the unfortunate people for whose civil and natural rights I had pleaded were the most shameful and vile of creatures, no longer human, and justly expelled and scorned by society, the women jumped to their feet, and cried almost with one voice, 'Mais les hommes, les hommes?' — 'What about the men, who are equally guilty and base?' Their indignation and right judgment, and the sharp questions they flung at him, delighted me. I sat back in a corner, and thanked God silently for this storm; but there was a sadness, too, in the sound; a sound like maledictions, almost revengeful, which made one think of the deep and deadly wounds which have been inflicted in Paris, and of still further retribution and tribulation which may be in store for her. M. Jules Favre was to have come to oppose —, and he would have done it powerfully. But at the last minute I had a note from him with deep black edges, saying that circumstances profoundly sad prevented him from leaving the house. One of the ladies, apparently rather new to the question, answered him with great feeling; and then a youth, about nineteen, trembling with nervousness, answered him also, in few words, but nobly, poor boy. At the close a lady came to me, and said, 'He is my son,'—putting his hand in mine. Both mother and son were painters. I often find sympathy and help in the most unexpected quarters; I have got both from Paris doctors. They are not all opposed to us. Dr. Armand Déprés, who has been for very many years at the Lourcine hospital, told me that the whole system in Paris is a failure and a delusion; his testimony is of great value, because he is an eminent man, and a most industrious one; his conclusions also are based on long experience. He showed me all his books; very large MS. books, full of the most

carefully arranged statistics; you will be interested in reading the results he showed me. Dr. Déprès was most kind, and opened to me every avenue he could of information. I am struck with the readiness of most of those whom I have seen, to bring everything to daylight. On the contrary, I find it very difficult to obtain any statistical or exact information from some of the official upholders of the system here. They may be talkative enough, but they immediately change the subject when I ask them for statistics or definite information. Dr. Déprès described to me most clearly how the people are at war with this system and with the police, and how the evasion of the provisions of the system by thousands of women, together with the general increase of vice through the public sanction accorded to it, makes the idea of lessening disease by the system a simple absurdity. M. Humbert spoke at both our meetings with great clearness and judgment. He will remain in Paris for some days after I leave it, to call on several people."

To Mr. Butler.

"Paris, Feb. 15th.

"It was a relief and rest to me, after seeing many sad places, to pay a visit to the 'Maison des Diaconesses,' and to see the good work done there,—the schools, hospital, and refuge. I dined with the deaconesses, and afterwards one of them took me to see the poor girls they rescue from misery and vice. They were all assembled, and this deaconess said to them, in a sweet gentle voice, 'I want you to look at this dear lady, my children. Yes, look at her well, for she is your friend, and perhaps you may never see her again. She is our friend; she has come to Paris to say that our bonds shall be broken.' And then she continued, speaking almost as a person speaks in a dream, and very solemnly: 'Our bonds shall be broken. A time shall come when vice shall no more

be organized and upheld by the law, to crush us down to hell. You understand what I mean, my children. Ah! you understand too well. She has come to Paris to oppose the great machinery which makes it so easy to sin, and so hard to escape. She brings you a message from Jesus to-day, my children, and asks you to love Him, and to look forward in hope; for our bonds shall be broken—*ours*; for we are sisters; we suffer with you.' She explained further to them, very delicately and solemnly, till one saw they began to feel they had a part with us in the good war. I said a few words, and then we all sang a hymn together, about our bonds being broken; at the end of which this deaconess played a few notes on her harmonium, on which she had accompanied us, in which there came a minor tone of sadness for one moment, which seemed to express the hidden agony of the heart so well known to us while we spoke only of hope to the poor girls. It will not be long till we meet now. I want to know how poor old Dodo is. She works so hard to collect a little money for the cause. We must not let her suffer in this severe winter. The Baroness de Staël has expressed deep sympathy with our cause. She is an invalid, and wrote to ask me to call on her."

As soon as Mrs. Butler had returned to England an influential Conference was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel (March 4th, 1875), chiefly with the view of considering Parliamentary action during the session. At the request of this Conference, Mrs. Butler gave some account of her experience on the Continent, in the course of which she showed that her own work abroad had had very little of a creative character, but had rather served to bring out and give expression to sentiments and convictions already existing in the various countries she had visited; in proof of which she said:—

"We are too insular in our sympathies. Though

keenly alive to our own national faults, we are yet too apt to think that we are the only European nation which possesses moral or political vigour for the overthrow of a great evil. I take blame to myself for having, to some extent, shared the idea that England was the only country in which any stern resistance has ever been made to this modern tyranny and immorality. Now this cannot be said to be quite the case. Having more freedom of speech, of public meeting (I can hardly say of the press, so far as this subject is concerned), and a more effective representative system, than many other countries, we have been able to make our opposition more felt and heard, and, by organization, to make it more continuous and active. But do not imagine that in other countries there has been no resistance. In every city I have lately visited, there has been resistance at one time or another. In some, there have been renewed and repeated protests; in others, strong individual efforts. I have seen people on the Continent who have done heroic deeds, and suffered a social martyrdom for this cause, such as we in England have not been called to. In Paris a large petition was signed by the inhabitants, and addressed to the Government in the last year of the reign of Louis Philippe, praying for the abolition of the official protection of vice. M. Armand De Lille informed us that he was one of those who signed. There is a portion of the population in Paris (and that a very important one) which is 'groaning and travailing,' so to speak, to get rid of this heavy, cruel despotism, this curse under which their daughters fall, never again to rise. Knowing nothing in Paris of liberty, except the name, this portion of the population has no power to resist, except in times of revolution, when it too often makes a bad use of that power, and when the better spirits among men are overpowered by the worst. I speak of it thus briefly, just in order to show you that *the people are not wholly cor-*

rupted; much less are they friendly to this horrible institution. If all this fire of revenge now secretly working were purified and rightly directed, it might become a great power wherewith to cast off the chain of this despotism of lust, which is hastening the ruin of the French race. While in Rome, I learned, by conversation with some of the Deputies, that a feeling of deep shame is entertained by some of them on account of this complicity of the Government in the vices of the people. Geneva is somewhat in the same position as England: having only recently wrapped around her these chains, she is unwilling to be convinced and to have it proved to her that she has made a mistake. Protests there, however, have not been wanting. Professor Hornung and M. Budé opposed the system publicly before they had any knowledge of the movement in England. I hold in my hand a learned paper published in Geneva, written by Professor Hornung, in which he pleads as a jurist against the violation of the first principles of justice and equity involved in this State surveillance of vice; his paper is well worthy of being translated for English readers. A protest was made to the Government of Geneva in 1871, against the system of toleration. This was the result of the efforts of Pastor Borel. In some of the German cities which I did not visit, I heard that there is a certain amount of agitation of the question, arising from the awakening of the consciences of just men and women. Certain elements, however, have been wanting to ensure success, or any steady progress. These efforts, abroad, have been isolated and interrupted. For the most part they have lacked publicity; they have embraced no public co-operation of women with men, and they have in no case had a national, much less an international, character. The lacking elements will, I hope, begin from this time to be supplied. Publicity will now be courted, not shunned.

Organization has already commenced: pamphlets are already being circulated by thousands, committees are being formed, and the newspapers in numerous cities are discussing the subject. That which the foul institution most dreads—light and speech—have at last been granted; darkness and silence are passing away. I cannot express to you how earnestly our friends abroad are looking to England in this matter. What the English abolitionists have done and undergone already inspires them with courage and hope. We must join hands with our fellow-abolitionists on the Continent. An Italian lady wrote to me four years ago respecting state-regulated prostitution in Italy. Speaking of the horrors inseparable from the system, she said, ‘It would be difficult to describe the wrongs, the sorrows, the enforced depravity, which find no *counterpart in any modern institution, slavery included.*’ Personal observation confirms her testimony. Oh, let me urge you, friends, to spare no effort in this holy war, and in our own country to determine that the enemy shall have no peace, no respite; seeing into what a mist of darkness, what a labyrinth of crime, a people finds itself plunged at last, who has once entered upon this ‘covenant with death,’ this ‘agreement with hell.’ ”

At a small private Conference held in London on March 3rd, the day previous to the Conference in the Westminster Palace Hotel, the idea had been suggested of forming a “British and Continental and General Federation,” with a view to give practical form to the strong though hitherto, to a great extent, latent feeling of abhorrence of the system of state-regulated vice already existing in many of the best minds of France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, and to arouse a powerful public opinion in support of an agitation similar to our own, which has now commenced in those countries. This idea was warmly received at the Con-

ference referred to, and a resolution was passed unanimously and cordially for the formation of such a Federation, which should consist of the Executive Committees of the Associations having the same object in view, in all parts of the world, expressing their readiness to join the same.

The *Shield* of the 13th March says:—"By this step we have clasped hands with many sincere and hearty friends of the good cause abroad, and we have no doubt that a vast increase of power will accrue to our movement from the greater publicity thus secured (for in all good causes publicity is power), and by the sense of mutual confidence and support created by the formation of this new League in aid of Morality and Justice.

"The first meeting of the Federation was held at Liverpool, on Friday, March 19th. All the existing repeal organizations had been invited to send representatives to give in their adhesion to their movement, and all had cordially responded.

"After deliberation the Association was formally constituted, and it was determined that the Government of the Federation should be by a General Council and an Executive Committee. The General Council to consist of representatives of all associations approving the object, and subscribing not less than £1 annually to the funds, and also of elected members. The Council to elect at each annual meeting the Executive Committee and officers of the Federation.

"The Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., was unanimously elected President of the Federation, and Mrs. Butler as Hon. Secretary, with Mr. H. J. Wilson as co-secretary, *pro tem.* Mr. W. Crosfield, J.P., Liverpool, was elected treasurer. Sir Harcourt Johnstone and others were appointed as an Executive Committee."*

M. Aimé Humbert, of Neuchâtel, having consented to

* See Appendix.

act as continental correspondent and representative of the Federation, was duly elected to that post M. Humbert, who is a learned and accomplished man, and whose character stands high in his own country and elsewhere, has held important Government appointments : he was for ten years Chancellor of the Swiss Federation, and he had already proved his zeal in our work by the active help he had given to Mrs. Butler before, during, and since her visit to the Continent. The work which has since been accomplished by M. Humbert, and of which some account will be given in a subsequent chapter, bears abundant testimony to his prudence and energy as an advocate of our cause, and to his great ability as an organizer and worker.

In his letter to Mrs. Butler, agreeing to act as representative of the Federation, M. Humbert says :—“We accept,”—speaking for his wife, as well as for himself ; and adds :—“‘God wills it’ was the cry of the old crusaders, and it is still more appropriate as the watchword of a crusade which is wholly moral. I do not deceive myself concerning the difficulties which the work on the Continent presents. They are the greater because vice is not in every case organized by law. Our Governments are none the less responsible, however ; I should even say they are more guilty, since it is by their orders, or by their permission, that, in order to organize vice, their administrations of police place themselves *above* the law.”

During the meeting of the 19th March, a telegram was received from Rome announcing the unanimous adhesion of the Central Italian Committee to the Federation, and shortly after, one from Paris, of which the following is a translation :—

“Appia. De Coppet. As soon as the Session of the National Assembly is over, we hope to form a Com-

mittee which will put itself in communication with the Federation, to work for the destruction of legalised immorality. May God bless your generous efforts."

The *Shield* concludes its report of this meeting by saying:—

"The expenses of the continental work of the Federation will be defrayed in part by the local committees that may be formed; but until the organization is complete, it is needful that the English friends of Repeal should provide funds liberally, and we trust all who can will contribute to this important development of our work."



CHAPTER V.

“Association centuples your strength; it makes the thoughts of others your own, and the progress of others your own, while it elevates and sanctifies your nature through the affections and the growing sentiment of the unity of the human family. But you tell me you cannot attempt united action, distinct and divided as you are in language, customs, tendencies, and capacity. . . . The individual is too insignificant, and humanity too vast. The mariner of Brittany prays to God as he puts to sea : *Help me, my God ! my boat is so small, and Thy ocean so wide !* And this prayer is the true expression of the condition of each one of you, until you find the means of infinitely multiplying your forces and powers of action.”—MAZZINI.

FOR some time after Mrs. Butler's return from the Continent, and previously to the complete organization of the British and Continental Federation, her own work was necessarily greatly increased. The labour of correspondence with persons in many parts of the world, and in different languages, was no slight task, and her strength proved insufficient for her prolonged labours. While pursuing her work of correspondence to a late hour one night, a feeling of sudden prostration which came upon her made it apparent that the over-taxed mental powers must have rest, and that some time of retirement from work would be required to enable her to return with renewed vigour to her post. The work, however, experienced no check. The breath of the Most High, which can “break the icebergs in pieces, and kindle a mighty conflagration,” continued to keep alive and to fan into stronger life the spark already kindled. During the summer

months, when Mrs. Butler was unable to work, Mr. Henry Wilson, of Sheffield, proved himself to be a valuable lieutenant. He succeeded, by his earnest efforts, in interesting a great number of English friends in the work inaugurated on the Continent ; his appeals for funds were generously responded to ; and persons from many parts of the world continued, during the summer and autumn, to send in their adhesions to the Federation. Further allusion to these adhesions will be made in the course of the narrative.

After Mrs. Butler had left Italy, the first places in which there arose a spontaneous continuation of the work the inauguration of which has been already detailed, were Rome and Milan. In the latter city, in February, an address was given by Signor Brusco Onnis, in the Scuola Mazzini, of which the *Libertà e Associazione* of Milan gave the following report :—

“ Signor Brusco went on to treat his difficult topic in carefully considered and delicate language. He began by answering the stupid and vulgar objection that would bid us abstain from the attempt to remedy an evil, on the ground *that it has always existed* ; pointing out that evil only exists in order to be conquered and overcome, and that the struggle against it constitutes the sole source of human merit. He showed the injustice of inflicting the whole penalty of a sin committed by men and women upon women only, thereby affirming and sanctioning the slavery of woman, in defiance of the progress of civilization and the law of God. He asked how it was that medical supporters of the system confined their attention solely to the one point of *individual* infection, and entirely neglected the greater evil of the necessary degeneration of the *race* resulting from impurity, and concluded by an eloquent appeal to the working classes, and to the women of Milan, to associate their efforts with those of the association established in England to obtain the Repeal

of all laws regulating prostitution, suggesting that an association should be formed in Milan for the same purpose. The audience, which was very numerous, repeatedly signified their approval of the sentiments and principles expressed by the speaker."

The *Emancipazione*, of Rome, reproduced at the same date a letter to an English lady, written by the late Joseph Mazzini, in which he condemned our laws which legalize vice, as "an introduction of the worst feature of American slavery into England, by violating—in the case of the female population of her garrison towns—that sacred right over their own persons which English law had hitherto recognised even in criminals, and practically depriving them of that power of choice between good and evil which is the sole source of human responsibility;" and in which he enters his protest against 'all such laws, and the doctrine on which they are founded, not only in the name of true womanhood, but of true manhood.'"

The same newspaper, the *Emancipazione*, continued weekly its advocacy of the cause, in a series of excellent and exhaustive articles. A significant and hopeful sign, and one which is never wanting where the principles of the abolitionists have taken root vitally, was not long in appearing in Italy, namely, the alarmed activity of the opponents of those principles. Some of the most distinguished medical men in Italy openly declared the regulation system a hygienic failure, and joined the ranks of the abolitionists; on the other hand, articles appeared weekly from the pens of doctors who boldly defended the existing laws. The *Gazzetta di Milano*, and the *Diritto* of Rome, became for some weeks the vehicles of the opinions of the opposing parties, which were fairly and fully presented to the country by each of these journals.

The definitive constitution of a Central Italian Com-

mittee at Rome took place shortly after Signor Nathan's return there from the north of Italy. On the 25th of February that gentleman wrote to England that Prince Francesco Pallavicini and Signor Musio (President of the Commission of the Senate for the Revision of the Penal Code) had agreed to become members of the Central Committee, and, together with the other members of the Committee, signed the following circular:—

“The undersigned citizens, having seen the circular addressed by Mrs. Butler of Liverpool, to the Italian citizens assembled in the hall of the Albergo Reale in Milan to do honour to the principles maintained by her, fully associate themselves with the aspirations expressed in that circular, and having formed themselves into a Central Committee in Rome, they ask of their fellow citizens in the other cities of Italy their cordial co-operation.”

The following noble address, worthy to be translated into every language in Europe, was issued some days later by the Central Committee, and reproduced, not only in the *Diritto*, but in the journals of Milan, Naples, Reggio nell' Emilia, Verona, Genoa, Turin, Cremona, Ancona, etc.

ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL ITALIAN COMMITTEE FOR THE REPEAL OF THE LAWS THAT GIVE GOVERNMENT SANCTION TO PROSTITUTION.

(Translated from the *Diritto*.)

“ITALIANS!

“The words which the Central Italian Committee address to you are words of *faith*. Yes, we openly declare to you that we believe in morality; we believe in purity of life, and we believe that a people which resolves to achieve these things can do so.

“But in order that this may be, it is necessary that the laws which the people are called upon to respect should

inspire respect; that they should elevate, not degrade the national conception of the moral power to which man may and must aspire. The laws which regulate prostitution are not such. For this reason we will agitate against them until they are repealed.

"No evil can be extirpated by the offer to provide, beforehand, an immunity from its consequences. We will oppose these regulations because they are immoral in the fact that they recognise as a *necessity* that which Governments should recognise only as an evil; an evil to be gradually extirpated through the medium of a moral education universally diffused.

"We will oppose these regulations because they violate the principle which declares the law equal for all, by leaving men unpunished for the self-same fault for which they deprive women of all that they hold most dear and sacred.

"Finally, we will oppose these regulations because they are a sanitary deception, since it is confessed even by their most ardent supporters, that they are unable to restrain the spread of the diseases against which they are directed. From our fellow-citizens and all our Italian countrymen we ask: FAITH IN THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF MORALITY, AND THEIR CO-OPERATION IN ORDER MORE SPEEDILY TO ACHIEVE IT.

"FRANCESCO PRINCIPE PALLAVICINI.

CONTE GIUSEPPE MUSIO, Senatore del Regno.

CONTE CARLO RUSCONI.

G. TAMAJO, Deputato.

G. ASPRONI, Deputato.

DOTT. LEOPOLDO VIGLIONI.

PROF. SCIFONI.

V. ROSSI.

SANTE VENERATI.

GIUSEPPE A. NATHAN."

The news of the formation of an Italian Central Committee was received by the various Repeal Associations in England with the liveliest satisfaction. Several of them sent to the Secretary of the Central Italian Committee the expression of their cordial sympathy and strong interest in the movement they had so ably begun. Of these addresses the following are a selection :—

From the Central Committee of the National Association, 27, Great George Street, Westminster, London :—

“ March 12th, 1875.

“ To Signor Giuseppe A. Nathan, 24, Piazza San Luigi de Francesi, Roma.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I have been requested, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Association for the Repeal of the Laws which sanction Immorality, to acknowledge the letter you have been good enough to send to our secretary, Mr. F. C. Banks, on behalf of the Italian Central Committee to Secure the Repeal of the Laws and Regulations which License Prostitution in Italy.

“ Our Committee have heard with deep interest the cordial response with which our friend and colleague, Mrs. Josephine Butler, was welcomed on her recent tour in France, in Switzerland, and in Italy ; and it is peculiarly gratifying to us to learn of the establishment of your Committee in Rome, the capital of Italy, between whose people and our own countrymen there has long existed a peculiar sympathy, and of whose struggle for national freedom, based upon the law of moral progress, the battle against state-regulated vice, in which you in common with ourselves are engaged, forms an important and a necessary portion.

“ A Conference was held in London, on Thursday, the 4th of the present month, of delegates from all the

different societies which have been formed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the purpose of procuring the Repeal of these infamous Acts.

"The Conference was presided over by the Right Honourable James Stansfeld, M.P.; and after receiving from Mrs. Butler a report of her recent work on the Continent of Europe, a resolution was unanimously adopted charging our committees with the organization of a British and Continental Federation of all societies formed to oppose the State recognition and regulation of vice.

"Upon this branch of the subject you will hear more fully from Mrs. Butler; but, in the meantime, my Committee desires to lose no time in sending to you and your Committee their most hearty greeting and their best wishes. And I trust that this letter will be the commencement of cordial and mutually encouraging relations between us and you.

"I am, my dear Sir, ora e sempre,

"Sincerely yours,

"W. SHAEN."

From the Scottish National Association, to the Secretary of the Central Italian Committee, Rome:—

"Edinburgh, March 15th, 1875.

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 4th of March, handing copy of address by the Roman Committee for the abolition of State-regulated vice, I have to express, on behalf of the Scottish National Association, our cordial sympathy with the efforts which, in common with ourselves, you are making for the total repeal of these most obnoxious Acts—Acts which are so demoralizing in their operation, so unconstitutional in their character, and so dishonouring to the Legislature of any country.

"Yours faithfully,

(Signed) STEPHEN WELLSTOOD, Hon. Sec.

"Signor Joseph Nathan, Rome."

At a meeting of the Committee of the Midland Counties' Electoral Union for the same object, held in Birmingham, March 11th, 1875, Arthur Albright, Esq., President, in the chair, it was unanimously resolved :—

“ That this Committee hears with profound pleasure of the formation of the Italian Central Committee for the repeal of the laws and regulations which license prostitution in Italy. They rejoice that a holy crusade against the legal establishment of vice has been begun under such propitious auspices, and beg to assure the Italian Committee that its progress will be watched with deep interest and vivid sympathy by their fellow-workers in England. They trust that the labours of the Committee may be crowned with success, and that to the many glories which render Italian history illustrious may be added the distinction that Italy, first among European nations, will have emancipated herself from the slavery of state-fostered sensuality.

“ ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, President.

“ CHARLES STURGE, J.P., Chairman of Committee.”

The resolution was forwarded to the Central Italian Committee in Rome.

The *Diritto* of March 23rd contained the following :—

“ Central Italian Committee for the Repeal of the Laws which give Government sanction to Prostitution.

“ On Sunday, the 21st of March, a meeting was held of the members of the Central Italian Committee for the repeal of the regulations which give Government sanction to prostitution. In answer to many addresses of encouragement and congratulation received from various Committees of Great Britain, it was resolved to send the following ‘Manifesto’ to the British Federation :—

“ The Central Italian Committee, in their meeting of

the 21st of March, resolves to send a hearty salutation to all the Committees and all the Associations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who co-operate with them for the triumph of personal liberty, equality, and morality, against the nefarious regulation of prostitution which would, if prolonged, convert every aspiration towards the progressive development of the human soul into a mockery, and transform love into lust. They wish particularly to express to Mrs. Butler their feelings of gratitude for the holy work initiated by her in Italy, a work which will win for her the affection and admiration of every sincere lover of morality.

“And as a first proof of the noble purpose by which the lady is animated, we subjoin the following letter from her to the Italians.”

[Here follows the circular issued by Mrs. Butler from Milan, and the answer of the Central Committee above quoted.]

Among many letters of adhesion received by the Secretary in Rome, about this time, were the following, from names well known in Italy:—

“Rome, March 17th, 1875.

“Worthy Signor Giuseppe Nathan,

“I received your favour of the 15th inst., inviting me to join the Society for the repeal of the regulations which give Government sanction to prostitution.

“I thank you, and feel very grateful to you for having remembered my poor name, and for the offer to unite it with that of other citizens of various countries for the high purpose of amending public morality. I accept the honour.

“Legislation which disciplines the practice of vice by constituting it into a professional right, and rendering it a source of fiscal contribution, has ever appeared to my

mind an enormous wrong, prostituting the law itself more entirely than the unhappy victims of corruption.

“(Signed) NICOLA FABRIZZI, General.”

General Fabrizio is a member of Parliament, and Questore of the House.

“Chamber of Deputies,

“March 15th, 1875.

“To Signor Giuseppe Nathan.

“We are agreed on the following points :—

“1. I applaud and give my full adhesion to the initiative taken towards obtaining the complete abolition of official prostitution.

“2. I should consider it an honour to be a member of the Committee if I had time to devote to it.

“3. As soon as my occupations will allow me, I shall be glad to work for it.

“4. Should the question come on for discussion in the Chamber, I would speak in favour of the proposition enunciated above.

“(Signed)

M. AMADEI.”

An additional element of excitement was added to the controversy about this time by the publication in the *Diritto* of a letter from Cardinal Manning, circulated in England, strongly condemning the legal sanction of vice. This letter made its appearance during Cardinal Manning's stay in Rome.

On the 20th of March, Mr. Nathan wrote :—

“The Central Committee have secured offices in the near neighbourhood of the Chamber of Deputies, so as to facilitate communication with deputies interested in the question. Letters are daily received there from the other cities of Italy, eagerly hailing the inauguration of

this movement, and enquiring, 'What can we do to support it?' The Freemasons of Messina have offered sympathy and support, and public meetings are being called for in several towns. We are now in the heat of the battle; at last a champion has come out to meet us,* who has dared to strip the Government regulations of all their sham morality, and to uphold them under their real aspect. I do not envy the man who dares thus much, nor the journal which prints such an apology for immorality, and such a delineation of the man-brute, as you will find in the number I send of a well-known newspaper. It is a boon to us, and will win us more adherents than our own words can do. He who hath ears to hear, let him hear !'

On the 3rd of April an address of adhesion was received from a union of artizans, the "Fratellanza Artigiana, Amore e Libertà," of Milan. The address applauded the initiation of so noble an effort, begged that the artizans' union might be allowed to co-operate, and asked to be informed of the practical steps proposed, in order that the work might be homogeneous and united.

The *Diritto*, which has not hesitated to reveal its sympathy with the abolitionist movement, also published the letters and addresses of the National and other English Associations. Its issue of the 25th contained a letter from the Secretary of the Central Italian Committee, written in answer to many requests received that the Committee would give a full explanation of the views and principles of the Association. The Secretary informed his readers that some of these had been already stated in a pamphlet published by the Association (which would shortly be followed by others), and promised that these views and principles should be fully and completely set forth in the columns of the daily press, as soon as

* An Italian doctor.

the numerous immediate claims of gratitude and courtesy, and the necessary acknowledgment of the addresses of adhesion and encouragement received from all parts of Italy, were responded to.

The pamphlet alluded to was a translation from an English pamphlet, by "A Necessarian." The arguments contained in it were peculiarly suited for educated Italian readers. Two thousand copies of it were circulated in Italy.

In April, there appeared in the columns of the *Emancipazione*, a letter from an Italian workman on the crusade, which excited a wide-spread interest among the working class, being the expression, in fact, of the feelings of thousands, and not merely of one, of that class. It was translated into several of our English popular journals. The following is a translation of the letter, with an introductory remark by the Editor of the *Emancipazione*:—

"The writer is certainly not a *literato*, and President Biancheri would declare his language *unparliamentary*. And in truth his arguments are so plainly spoken as to appear rough and rude. Nevertheless, his letter appears to us so full of good sense that we reproduce it."

Letter from an Italian workman.

"Worthy Signor, Editor of the *Emancipazione*.

"You, who have had the courage—unique rather than rare—to publish in your paper a history of the effects of the laws upon prostitution, will certainly not deny a little space to a working man to state his opinion upon this beautiful emanation of our national wisdom; and observe that what I write you may hear spoken by the lips of hundreds of my companions.

"You will, perhaps, have seen that a certain Dr. Gaetano Pini—a great man of science, no doubt—and many other men of science before and after him, have written it out in the papers that prostitution is a neces-

sity ; that, but for it, we should live in constant fear for the honour of our wives and daughters, and a mass of other things of this description. No doubt we shall, in time to come, have other men of science, medical and non-medical, who will revise the dictionary employed by these gentlemen ; but, in the meantime, I want you to do me the favour to let me answer these gentlemen, telling them what the working men think upon the question ; and this I will do in few words.

“ They must know, then, that if there are people who, having nothing better to do than to eat and drink and play the dandy in the *café*, believe prostitution to be a necessity, we working men do *not* believe it. If they think that they ought to spend not only the money, but the morality of the nation, in order to maintain a standing army more or less healthy, we working men do *not* want this : what the deuce do we care about the *balance of powers*, if it can only be kept straight by paying those who hold our side up, by the sacrifice of the honour and the virtue of ever so many of our daughters ? These gentlemen who make such a noise about the necessity of prostitution too often forget, I think, that in order to satisfy that necessity, *the dishonour of the daughters of the people* is indispensable, for as yet no society of worshippers of these medical theories has been found ready to declare themselves willing to be sacrificed in order to satisfy this necessity ; instead of this we do find that gentlemen have employed every method of seduction that the mind of man or devil could invent, in order to drag poor girls of our class into the mud, at an age when, to those who understand the art, their corruption was an easy task. Tell these gentlemen also that we workmen know what is lawful and what is unlawful, what is moral and what is immoral, better than they do. We answer them that God and conscience existed before their science, and that if their knowledge produces such fruit, the sooner they

forget it the better it will be for their own souls and the souls of those whom they endeavour to influence. We poor devils who are constrained to labour for twelve or even fourteen hours a day, know too well that food is indeed a necessity ; but so long as we have hands to work with, we shall never forget that it is a duty to satisfy even that necessity lawfully. And I may also say that we workmen hold that if the infamy which is perpetrated under the sanction of law by Government doctors in their *Health Bureau*, were perpetrated upon one single woman only, it would be a worse evil, and carry with it far worse consequences than the physical disease these laws pretend to cure.

“Excuse me if I have occupied too much space in your paper ; but I felt a real need of saying to all these gentlemen who calumniate working men by saying that prostitution is a necessity for them, what is our real opinion, and that it is not what they say it is.

“As to maintaining a wife and family, anyone who examines statistics may know that it is not workmen nor peasants who remain unmarried because they don’t know how to keep a wife. Go on, worthy Signor Editor, fighting against this accursed social sore, and you will see that the approbation of all honest workmen will never fail you.

“Yours for justice’ sake,
“A WORKING MAN.”

The *Diritto* of April 20th published the adhesion of General Garibaldi to the cause, and his response to the invitation given to him to be elected a member of the Council of the Federation, which he “accepted with gratitude.” Garibaldi’s letter and that of the “working-man” appearing about the same time, excited a considerable sensation. The latter especially, brought a number of adhesions to the cause on the very day after

its publication, and numerous letters to the Roman secretary urging that it should be widely circulated throughout Italy.

Signor Nathan wrote at this time that he had received the signature of Duke Leopoldo Torlonia (the great Roman banker) to the address of the Committee to the Italians. He had also received the adhesion of Mariano Miraglia, President of the Court of Appeal, also that of F. Proto-Notari, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Rome, and those of many of the students there. He added, "It is evident that we have only responded to a want which many have been feeling for a long time, and that we have but opened a door at which crowds were waiting in the hope of seeing it unclosed."

Tragic deaths and suicides are always among the accompaniments of slavery. In the month of March, Mrs. Percy, of Aldershot, a widow who had maintained her young children by her earnings in an honest profession, drowned herself in order to escape from registration on the Government roll of shame. The case excited a protest from a large portion of the English press, and was reported in many foreign newspapers. The *Diritto* reproduced *in extenso* an article on the subject which appeared in the London *Examiner*. About the same time the local press of Brescia reported the case of a young girl who was denounced to the police (in Italy and France an anonymous letter is sufficient to justify the police in compelling a woman to submission). She wept and implored to be spared the humiliation, declaring that she was virtuous and pure; her old father and mother also protested and implored in vain. She was dragged to the hospital. When brought before the doctor her manner entirely changed; she no longer implored or wept; she was calm and decided. The doctor pronounced her to be as pure as on the day of her

birth. She waited until he made a written declaration to this effect, and then without uttering a word went to the window and dashed herself from the balcony. She was taken up dead.*

During Mrs. Butler's visit to Milan, the newspapers there reported the case of a poor girl who was decoyed into a house of ill-fame under the false pretence of finding her a situation as a servant. When she discovered where she was, she declared she would not remain another moment; but the mistress of the house told her it was too late; she must finish her term, as she had agreed to serve a certain number of months. The girl implored in vain to be set free; her mistress bade her go to her room and think over it, assuring her she would soon get accustomed to the life, and find her new occupation a lucrative and easy one. The poor girl went to her room, and there, with God only as her witness and judge, poisoned herself with the phosphorus on some lucifer matches. Mr. Nathan, in writing of this case, said, "The death of this poor peasant girl ought surely to stir the blood in every honest man's heart, and make him swear to himself not to rest until he has swept from the land the last vestige of laws that bear such fruit. Pardon me if I have let my pen run too fast, but when I think of that poor girl—a true martyr of our cause—my blood boils."

The *Gazzetta di Milano* reported, about the same time, the case of a young girl of singular beauty, who having been entrapped by deliberate deceit, and sold into the servitude of shame, locked herself into her room, and attempted suicide by breathing the fumes of charcoal. She was found in the morning stretched on her bed quite insensible, with a crucifix clasped in her arms. The immodest pictures and other objects suggestive of evil

* This incident is doubly verified in a letter from an Italian doctor, published in the *Medical Enquirer*, March 15th, 1875.

with which her apartment had been furnished, were found all broken to pieces by her hands, and lay strewed about the room. Happier had it been for her if that sleep had been her last ; but life was not extinct, and she was restored to consciousness, to her own bitter grief. Such are a few of the many cases which come to light of the dread appeal made from man to God by the friendless and oppressed. How many are there of which *on earth* no record is kept ?

The work of rescuing individuals is found ever accompanying, more or less, the efforts of the abolitionists for the destruction of organized immorality, although it no longer occupies the first place, and much less does it now represent the only form of aggression attempted by good men and women in regard to the great social evil. Mr. Nathan and his friends soon had their attention called to special cases of suffering and wrong. Portions of the "Regulations" constitute a species of "fugitive slave law," by which the slaves of this modern tyranny are almost hopelessly cut off from any possibility of escape. Communications are made from one end of the country to another, and even between one country and another, concerning any who attempt to escape. The spirit in which Mr. Nathan acted towards those he endeavoured to deliver from bondage is illustrated in the following extracts from his letters to Mrs. Butler :—

"I wish you were here to teach me how to act in this case. I would ten thousand times sooner face the mouths of twenty guns than a poor girl who feels that she has lost all right to respect ; though not in *my* eyes. No ! God is my witness that I judge *no* woman unworthy of respect ; her womanhood outraged is in itself more than sufficient claim for the respect of every man. Had not one of *my* sex robbed her of her peace, withered in its bloom all happiness, all that made life a blessing to her, she might now have been happy, and

making others happy. Her poor betrayed soul, her robbed innocence, her misery and suffering, call loudly in God's name for the respect which all men owe to grief and suffering."

"It is impossible for me to tell you how much I long to work, how I long to be of some slight comfort to these poor fellow-creatures of ours, whom cowardly man has taught even to despair of the salvation of their souls. Could my remaining years bring but one of them to hope in God's everlasting mercy; could I make but one of them feel that the possibility of redemption is eternal as the everlasting soul with which God animated their matter; could I but awaken in one city the true deep fervid faith, that without purity and morality no nation can ever possibly advance; could I teach effectually in even one place the lesson, that because woman is our *first* teacher, her lessons can only bear good fruit on condition that we hold sacred and *do not despise* our teacher,—then I could understand why God has dealt so sternly with me, and I could patiently wait till I should be able to prove to my lost angel through my actions that *together* we have accomplished on earth the task appointed us."

A little later Mr. Nathan wrote :—

"I have received a paper from England relating to the *Social Purity League*. I not only sympathise with the aim of the League, but I consider its aim noblest among the noble. To talk of purity is well, to lead a pure life is better, but it is best of all to oppose impurity with all the powers of heart and intellect bestowed on us by God, under whatever form it presents itself to our eyes, and by whomsoever it may be promoted. Destroy purity, admit the necessity of prostitution, and materialism and profligacy will have full sway; but then efface from the English language the words *Mother, Home, and Heaven*."

The *Shield* of June 1st contained the following :—"The journals of every important town in Italy continue to discuss the question of state-regulation of vice with an amount of fair-play as well as of serious interest in the subject which cries shame upon the press of England. We are sure our readers will peruse with interest the following extracts from the extremely beautiful article upon our "Moral Crusade," reproduced in the *Emancipazione* of Rome, May 15th, from the *Associazione e Libertà*, of Milan :—

" 'We think,' says the *Associazione e Libertà*, 'that the illustrious Mrs. Butler, who last January initiated in Milan a work of the highest religious morality, by inviting the Italians to unite with the English in the crusade preached by her against the regulations giving Government sanction to prostitution, must see cause for great satisfaction and lively hope in the excellent results which the work of propaganda, traced out and begun amongst us by her, has already produced, thanks to the unwearied exertions of the Central Italian Committee constituted in Rome to second the activity of the British Federation. And, in truth, every day we perceive some new indication of the attention bestowed by our countrymen upon the dolorous problem now for the first time laid before their consciences as men, and their dignity as citizens, and observe how much the press is occupied with this grave question; and, what is still more consolatory, that it is studying it with an evidently favourable disposition towards the new ideas of purity and rehabilitation which are the moving spring and purpose of the crusade itself. There are, undoubtedly—and the fact is not surprising—certain writers and journals who have ranged themselves in opposition to the new moral idea, not so much from desire of controversy or deplorable acquiescence in evil, as from the powerful influence exercised upon the uninitiated by the dictates of Academic science.'

"After predicting the ultimate triumph of this work of moral civilization, and noting the hopeful sign that work-

ing men are beginning to rally round the pioneers in this sacred battle, *L'Associazione e Libertà* continues :—

“ ‘There is a sun whose destined course no Joshua can arrest ; this sun is the moral law. This law, which rests its eternal throne upon the basis of human equality, is strengthened, not disturbed by diversity of sex, for when God created man, *male and female created He them.*

“ ‘To say that the frightful sore which it is sought to heal *has always existed*, record being found of it in Genesis itself, and to characterise the idea of curing it as a generous dream, is an attempt to prescribe limits to human advance, which is nothing less than a negation of progress. The custom of slaughtering prisoners of war had *always existed*, until the Romans conceived the idea of preserving them and making serfs of them ; *that* barbarous custom was ultimately abolished, and serfdom, which had also *always existed*, ceased to be. The antiquity of an evil is an additional reason for extirpating, not for respecting it, for the longer it has existed, the more mischief has it wrought. . . . Our present purpose is to point out that in order most effectually to support the efforts of the initiators of this noble crusade, it is chiefly important that our working men’s associations should understand how great is the redemption which must ensue from the desired reform to the ever-increasing number of victims whom poverty flings into the arms of depravity and the laws enchain to dishonour. May the working men’s associations reflect upon this and upon the deadly shadow extended over the lives of so many daughters and mothers of the people, destructive alike of all family respect, hope, or joy, and remember how urgent and sacred is the duty of assisting by every means in their power the apostolate which the opponents of state-regulated vice have initiated in so true a spirit of justice and charity towards the victims of the most odious form of human error.’ ”

The *Rivista Indipendente* (Florence and Genoa) of the same date had an excellent article on the subject.

“The columns of the *Diritto* (Rome and Florence) have been constantly occupied with our subject, full and

free discussion of which is wisely permitted, although the editor's sympathies are entirely on our side." *

The medical aspects of the question before us are purposely excluded from this narrative. They have been powerfully and fully dealt with in the pages of the *Medical Enquirer*. It is only necessary therefore very briefly to mention here that a vigorous discussion has been maintained on the subject during the past nine months among medical men in Italy. Dr. Pini opened the discussion by a defence of the State regulations in a series of articles in the *Gazzetta d'Italia*, to which replies were rapidly published in the *Diritto*. Dr. Panglos wrote on the regulationists' side in *l'Italia*, and was answered by the Central Italian Committee in the *Diritto*. Dr. Morselli next took his part in the conflict, declaring boldly in the pages of the *Gazzetta d'Italia* the necessity of an organised system of prostitution. To his letter a reply also appeared in the same journal. Dr. Mantegazza objected to Mrs. Butler's address, in an article written by him in the *Medico di Casa*; his name is well known as a great upholder of vivisection. It is not surprising that many of the doctors who have been long practised in the torture of the humbler animals should be found to be the foremost advocates of a degrading and cruel system of which the victims are human creatures. Dr. Ambrosoli entered the lists on the side of regulation in the pages of the *Medical Review*, edited by Dr. Soresina, of Milan. Among those who are ranged on the abolitionist side are Dr. Bertani, Dr. Occhini, and Dr. Palasciano. This latter is a champion whom few dare to meet; he speaks with great authority on the subject, not only on account of his reputation as one of the first medical men of Italy, but from the fact that he held the appointment of Sanitary Inspector at the time of the inauguration in Naples, in 1861, of the

* *Shield*, June 1st, 1875.

system of regulated prostitution, and, in 1867, that of a member of the International Commission on the subject, nominated at the first session of the Medical Congress of all Nations. Dr. Palasciano wrote to a correspondent in England, April, 1875 :—

“The facts observed by me in the Sanitary Office and ‘Sifilicomio’ of Naples, from the first of January, 1861, to May, 1862, were made public with the relative official documents in 1867, for the use of the International Commission, as above-mentioned. They were published in the Nos. 2, 3, and 4, of vol. iv., of the *Archivio*, with the respective dates of the 16th, 26th, and 31st of October, 1867.”

“The Home Department administers in a really clandestine manner, prostitution and the taxes levied on it, which do not appear in the statistics, nor in the budgets presented to Parliament. The facts communicated to the Home Minister on the 27th of April, 1862, in a confidential report, caused me to resign the office of Sanitary Inspector of Naples in *less than eight days*. The documents to which I allude sufficiently explain why Italian physicians were never allowed to express their opinion on the value of the Acts regulating prostitution.”

The evidence of Dr. Palasciano would appear to be dreaded by the advocates of regulation ; for in turning to the official report of the Great International Medical Congress, held in Paris, in 1867, at which he appeared as one of the most distinguished of the delegates present, and read a conclusive paper against the system, it is found that not one word which he uttered is reported. The other speeches or papers are fully reported, while “Dr. Palasciano spoke of the regulations in Italy” is all the mention made in his case. The “Conspiracy of Silence,” it appears, is by no means the tactics of the English press, or of the last five years alone. Dr. Marchisio, of Turin, deserves special mention among the medical men in the Abolitionist ranks. In May he delivered an admirable lecture to a large audience of working men in

Turin, not only on the purely medical, but on the larger hygienic and scientific as well as the moral and social aspects of the question. Mr. Nathan wrote, on June 16th:—"At Turin, Dr. Marchisio delivered his second lecture on our subject to more than three hundred working men last Sunday, and was enthusiastically cheered. Although he spoke for more than an hour and a half, the attention of his audience never flagged for an instant, notwithstanding the heat (it is 90° in the shade)."

The Roman correspondent of the *Minoranza* (Reggio), May 23rd, thus writes to that journal:—

"... You have already treated in your columns of this most important question of the repeal of the laws which give governmental sanction to prostitution. Nevertheless, you are not, perhaps, aware by what persons, with what weapons, with what zeal, and with what faith, the agitation was commenced and is carried on. A foreigner, Mrs. Josephine Butler, of England, came to bring the new word of progress amongst us, and as the Italians, although they may have lost the energy of initiative, have not lost sight of morality and virtue, she found amongst us a vast number of followers, especially in Rome and Milan. Some of the most honoured names in Rome are inscribed as members of the Central Committee. This important subject is already discussed in more than fifty public journals, and of these more than twenty-five are favourable to the reform. This has been a sort of plebiscite of the Press; but a wider plebiscite is going on through the names inscribed upon the lists opened for the purpose by the committee. And, unquestionably, the ultimate victory must be theirs; for, in spite of the false doctrines taught by certain materialist medico-philosophers, morality and virtue are always superior to corruption and vice."

Journals of Naples, Rome, Florence, Milan, and Genoa, had articles upon the debate in the English House of Commons on Sir Harcourt Johnstone's Bill for Repeal, and every one of them expressed approval

of that measure. The *Pungolo* (Naples) remarks on the subject :—

“Some of the papers explain the non-success of this Bill by its too radical character. Sir Harcourt Johnstone proposed, point-blank, the absolute, complete, unconditional repeal of all the existing laws concerning prostitution. This was thought too much, and the Opposition took advantage of it. But, on the other hand, the supporters of the Bill cannot undertake the impossible task of cutting a moral question in two ; they do not understand casuistry in morality. To all cavilling, the honest English make this brief, clear, and simple answer :—*If these laws are immoral they must be repealed, and it is alike a waste of time and of dignity to accept half measures or compromises, in order to obtain fifty votes more.*”

Mr. Nathan wrote from Rome, June 16th, 1875 :—
 “I have just received a letter from Aurelio Saffi, one of the Triumvirs of the Roman Republic of 1849, and afterwards Professor at the University of Oxford, in which he tells me that at the last general meeting of the United Working Men’s Associations of Central Italy, the first resolution passed was to send a message of congratulation and adherence to our Committee, expressing their thorough concurrence with our ideas and intention of co-operating with us to ensure their speedy realization. This fact is important. I need scarcely say that Saffi is a man highly esteemed by all parties in Italy, and has more influence in Central Italy than any man now living. He assures me that he is entirely one with us, and will work untiringly to further our cause. Our pamphlets are publicly displayed for sale in the windows of the principal booksellers, not only here, in Rome, but in many other towns in Italy, and the demand for them is constantly increasing.”

The following letter to Mr. Nathan from Count Saffi appeared in the *Diritto*, the *Pungolo*, etc. :—

“Forli, June 30th, 1875.

“ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I have long owed you thanks for your courtesy in sending me the Report of the honourable Central Committee for the Repeal of the Regulations relating to Prostitution.

“You have certainly not attributed my silence to hesitation or dissent.

“For us, who believe in the spirituality of the soul, in the inviolability of the moral law, in the duty of deducing from that law the rules of education and of social government, all that tends to reduce the human being to the level of brute, unconscious matter, is at once false and wicked.

“The laws relating to prostitution ‘strike out *woman* from the world, to substitute for her the *female*,’—thus, on the pretence of the medical tutelage of society, fostering a sore which saps and destroys its most sacred foundations: the sanctity of the family, respect for the companion of man (a respect which he owes to himself even more than to her), the consciousness of human dignity in the relations of the sexes and of the various classes of society.

“The legal sanction of libertinage is one of the saddest signs of the decay of the moral sense in our time, and it is a no less sad indication of the materialism of a science, which reduces to a mere matter of hygienic precautions a question which affects the fundamental conditions of the mission of humanity on earth.

“Science—I rejoice to repeat it with the illustrious lady now fighting a sacred battle in the cause of human dignity, and whom I knew at Oxford as a model of high culture and domestic virtue—science, under whatever aspect it may present itself, is not the *end* of life; it is the means—the holy and indestructible means—by which that *end* is attained; and we desire that the *end* of all laws shall be the progressive moralization of the

citizen, and that to that end all the power of science shall be directed.

"For me, therefore, as for you, the object at which you aim is a part of that holy educational struggle which the principle of good sustains from generation to generation against all that defrauds humanity of its noblest characteristics.

"My individual adhesion appearing to me but a poor help to your work, I have delayed writing to you in the hope that I may be enabled to send you, at the same time, the resolution by which the Mutual Aid Society of the Operatives of Forli has unanimously determined to take part in your task. It is gratifying to me to communicate to you, in the name of fully six hundred artisans of my native town, this proof of popular morality; since the virtue of the working classes affords the strongest defence against the vices and seductions which generate prostitution, and the sophisms which surround it with the protection of the laws.

"Whatever reveals instincts of morality and duty, and disdain of private and public corruption in the ranks of the working men, is a promise of civil progress and of brighter days for our country; and Italy has, God be thanked, in its people now as in the past, germs of recuperative force which predict for her a future not unworthy of her glorious name.

"It is the duty of good men to educate with assiduous care the classes destined to renew the youth and re-temper the life of the nation, into the consciousness of their civic duties.

"Accept, with the fraternal greeting of these good citizens, a cordial grasp of the hand from your most devoted,

"AURELIO SAFFI.

"To Signor Giuseppe Nathan, Secretary of the Committee for the Repeal of the Laws relating to Prostitution, Rome."

OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF MUTUAL AID IN
FORLÌ.

“Forlì, June 26th, 1875.

“HONOURED CITIZENS,—The Council of the Operative Mutual Aid Association, which numbers 600 members, and has for its president Aurelio Saffi, resolved unanimously, in the meeting of the 24th of May, to share the noble efforts by which you are seeking to abrogate for ever the Government regulations relating to prostitution.

“The Council, through me, thanks, encourages, and loudly applauds you, as strenuous defenders of morality and those common rights against which those regulations offend, and which they trample underfoot; and hopes, for the sake of the Italian nation, that Parliament may receive favourably the demand addressed to it by the popular conscience, so that it may revoke and bury in oblivion laws which are at once indecent, oppressive, and inefficacious.

“I am, Gentlemen, with profound respect,

“Your obedient servant,

“A. FRATTI, Vice-President.

“To the honourable Central Committee for the Repeal of the Regulations relating to Prostitution, Rome.”

On the 24th of July the venerable Maurizio Quadrio, one of the earliest friends of Mazzini, wrote the following letter to the Secretary:—

“July 24th.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—Will you convey my thanks to the Central Committee for the honour they have done to me by sending a copy of their report of the action taken by them for the abrogation of the police regulations of prostitution?

“For several years the friends of progress in Italy have watched, with deep interest, the labours so earnestly pondered and pursued by English Liberals in the endeavour to repeal the laws regulating prostitution; laws which commenced their immoral work by a pretended legalisation of vice, and crowned that work by the most flagrant injustice, punishing only the women suspected of that vice, while leaving unpunished the men, who are generally the tempters, and always the equally guilty accomplices in it.

“The enterprise undertaken by the English is a difficult one, for they have against them the *fait accompli* of a law already passed; those upper and ruling classes who feel themselves secure from police oppression; the military element—solely occupied by the idea of sparing the naval and military services from the diseases caused by prostitution; and that portion of the medical element which views these laws as a means of increased business and influence. These are serious obstacles which will put the constancy of the English party of progress to the proof.

“But—as Mazzini wrote many years ago to one of those brave Englishwomen who, overcoming the timidity and repugnance natural to their sex, were united with some of the most eminent men of Great Britain in this work—‘You will succeed. You have in your House of Commons men whom surely no Giant Despair of physical disease can turn aside from the straight path of principle and duty; but even if these should fail you—which I do not believe—you have your people. Your working men have shown us, during the Lancashire famine, how *they* can feel for the down-trodden and oppressed. Appeal to them. I have lived long enough in England to know what their answer will be.’

“The great Italian thinker judged rightly. His trust in the rectitude of the English people, and in the virtue

and courage of Englishwomen, in that moral courage which is far rarer and far more meritorious than physical courage opposed to brute force, has received the confirmation of the fact.

“The crusade against the laws tending to falsify or deny the mission of the companion of man, and to place *woman* in the category of the *female*, has gone on increasing in energy and in numbers; it has covered the country with meetings, and found wide expression through the Press; it has already given rise to one parliamentary battle, and is about to give rise to a second. This second battle may be lost like the first, but the future triumph, in a future not remote, is henceforth certain. So certain is the triumph in England, that the crusade has already spread abroad; the holy woman who is the apostle of the crusade—Josephine Butler—has sought and found sympathy and aid upon the Continent; and it is an honour to Italy to have been the first to accept and the most active to render her apostolate fruitful. As here, of course, I allude to the labours of the excellent and worthy Committee to which you belong, I need say no more.

“Mazzini frequently spoke to his disciples of his faith in the triumph of the moral law, and of the important part in the work of humanitarian progress assigned to the British nation by her long-standing possession of liberty, and expressed his profound conviction that so soon as the Italian nation should have achieved liberty, she would keep pace with England, or, it might be, pass beyond her.

“I, who am the oldest among Mazzini’s disciples, have often remembered Mazzini’s words, and shortly after his death in 1872, I made of them the text of some observations I then published upon the energetic movement undertaken in England against these laws, which pretend to legalise vice, while they punish the women—but the

women only—who practise it. And I reminded the Italians that our master regarded this question—which the upper classes consider of trifling importance—as inseparably linked with the gravest problems which weigh upon society at the present day.

“Renewing my thanks to the Central Committee, I can but invoke the blessing of God upon the labours you carry on with so much energy and constancy. You know that I am old and infirm, and can have but little influence; but for every help in my power you may count upon me.—Your old friend,

“MAURIZIO QUADRIO.”

The *Emancipazione* of the 21st August published an admirable letter of adhesion from Federico Campanella. Although the writer believes “the work of education necessary to overcome the animal instincts, refine the habits of men, and instil into their minds the sentiments of respect and love which should govern their relations with women, will be long and difficult,” he adds, “nevertheless, the excellent results already achieved by the English Association, the numerous cases of fallen women reclaimed cited by Mrs. Butler, must encourage our Committee to hope all things for humanity, and to entertain a certainty of final and complete success; while it must, above all, rouse all right-thinking persons to aid the realization of a noble idea destined so greatly to benefit humanity and to do honour to our nation. With my whole soul I shall join, as far as I am able, in the labours of our Committee.”

Adhesions were also received from the Marquis of Cassibile and others.

The *Corriere di Sardegna* (July 20th and 21st) published two long articles upon our subject, in one of which it

stated that at Caserta, among 30,000 inhabitants there are 74 *regulated* houses of prostitution, and remarked that from that fact alone we may form some estimate of the extent to which the system of legalised vice has fostered this species of commerce.

Other journals began in August to write on the question; the *Lucifero* of Ancona, the *Roma* and *Spira* of Naples, the *Cosa Pubblica* of Sardinia, and the *Speranza* of Modena-Reggio. This last contained, on the 27th of August, an excellent account of the whole movement. It spoke of the various forms of opposition which the crusade met with at first in England, and especially of "that opposition more injurious than any, the opposition of silence,"—all of which were overcome by steadfast faith; it goes on to narrate Mrs. Butler's efforts in the good cause in France and Italy, and to relate how, "owing chiefly to the unwearied zeal of the excellent Giuseppe Nathan, a man already well known in Italy for enterprise and courage, the Central Italian Committee for the abrogation of the laws which sanction prostitution in our own country, was formed."

"If," adds the *Corriere*, "we were to print an analysis of the decrees and instructions regulating this matter, every decent person could but marvel how it was possible that the Government could issue them, and that a legal agitation should be necessary in order to abolish them. The primary remedy required is education, based upon the moral laws sanctioned by religion; pointing out, also, that mere instruction, unaccompanied by education in the first principles of morality and justice, is too often the mere whitewash that conceals the evil underneath. If the people are to remain incorrupt, it is necessary that their Government, both by its rewards, its punishments, and its laws, should offer to them the example."

"Many illustrious personages have given their names to this committee; amongst others, Prince Francesco Pallavicini, Senator Giuseppe Musio, Count Carlo Rusconi, the Deputies

Tamajo and Asproni, Professor Scifoni (formerly member of the Roman Constituent Assembly, in 1849), and Dr. Leopoldo Viglioni, a man of stoical character, whose activity renders him a worthy companion of Signor Nathan. This Committee recently published an appeal to the Italians, addressing them in noble words of faith in morality and purity, and loudly proclaiming the necessity that the example of morality *should be given in high places*. This appeal brought response and hearty adhesion from many illustrious men; but it is all sufficient to quote the names of Maurizio Quadrio, Aurelio Saffi, Federico Campanella, Giuseppe Garibaldi, etc., etc. We, ourselves, are fully convinced of the sacredness of the propaganda initiated by Mrs. Butler, and so energetically followed up by the Central Committee in Roma, and therefore desire, in no spirit of blind imitation or adulation, but in earnest and heartfelt recognition of a holy truth, to join our voice to the voices of those illustrious men who have sent in their adhesion to the Central Italian Committee, and to unite with those journals of Italy and of other lands who support them in demanding the abrogation of the laws and regulations which sanction the vice of prostitution, which place women in the arbitrary power of the police, and which, by exposing them to treatment utterly unfit for human beings, violate in their persons the sanctity of human individuality. And to all those who combat in this moral crusade, we say, 'Faith and courage! you will win the day.'

Mr. Nathan was laid aside during some weeks in the autumn, by illness, probably induced by his great exertions in the holy cause. After his recovery, he wrote, in October, "The numerous letters which I have received from all parts of Italy during my illness, confirm me in the belief that our cause had indeed taken root in the hearts of the Italians." He adds that during his absence from Rome he received the adhesion of ten more working men's associations, and that the movement is becoming strong in the sympathies of these Italian working classes. The replies of two of these associations to the

Address of the Italian Central Committee are very remarkable, as showing the importance which the working men concerned attach to the moral question. The *Consociazione regionale* of working men of Liguria, say :—

“The undersigned, . . . although adverse, from political principle, to the method of petition, as implying recognition of the actual order of things founded upon the privilege of a partial and fictitious representation of the country, and convinced by long experience that the nation can hope for no efficacious advance in civil progress from the actual system of government, yet, in homage to the aim sought by the Central Committee in demanding the abrogation of these laws, append their names to the list sent to them, as a testimony of their adhesion to the moral purpose of the petitioners, and declare themselves willing to co-operate to the best of their power in the noble enterprise initiated by them.

“FELICE DAGNINO, President.”

The Association which bears the name of “The Joseph Mazzini,” answers in a similar strain, saying :—

“We, like you, believe in morality, and in purity of life, and we have faith that a people can, if it will, realize these. We also consider the laws regulating prostitution as a violation of that principle of civil equality which ought to be the basis of civil organization; we also, while we are convinced that those regulations are impotent to stem the extension of the maladies against which they are directed, perceive that they tend to nothing less than to the recognition as a *necessity* of that which an Educational Government would only recognise as an *evil* to be gradually extirpated through the medium of a sound education universally diffused.”

“Accept us, none the less, as brethren in your humanitarian apostolate.

“ARDÜINO, ANGELO—TRAVERSO, CARLO—E. PARMA—GIOO. CAMPANELLA—GIOO. DALL’ORSO.”

The *Minoranza*, of Reggio, a working-class paper, contained several articles on the political and economical aspects of the question. In an October number it pointed out that

“State-intervention for the regulation of prostitution is equivalent to a declaration that the Chief Association of the people, which is called the State, condemns a certain portion of its women to supply the brutal desires (pretended necessities) of the licentious men among the population.

“It elevates the practice of the most disgusting of vices to the dignity of a *trade*, places it on a level with that noblest human attribute, *labour*. The hard labour of the honest workman and the trade of a prostitute are held in equal consideration by the State. It is said that the State is bound to provide a certain number of prostitutes for the men of the people because not all of these are able to marry and have families. These are insults addressed to the laborious portion of the poor; insults against which the working men protest; they refuse to be deemed the licentious portion of society; they affirm, with reason, that the morality of their class is superior to that of the middle or noble classes.”

Mr. Nathan wrote on Nov. 17th:—“We are very busy now preparing for Conferences for the winter. They write to me from Ferrara that the ‘Società Operaja’ of that town is ready to adhere to our cause, and the President, C. Groppo, cashier of the National Bank, writes asking me for information to lay before the next meeting of the Society. The Rev. Mr. Zanini writes that they are also to hold a public meeting at the end of this month, which I shall attend. Our Roman Committee meets on Tuesday, the 23rd, when I shall give a brief account of the work done during the year.”

He continues to say that he has already received petition sheets covered with signatures, from small towns and villages of Umbria, and adds, “You have no idea how thoroughly the small towns appreciate our propaganda.

Family ties are evidently dearer and more sacred to them than they are to the inhabitants of large cities, where, unhappily, many people graft into their habits of thought the curse of the age, the conventionality and degrading hypocrisy of society."

On the 8th December he wrote that he had been occupied in endeavouring to induce members of Parliament to fight the budget of the Home Minister on the ground of "secret expenses;" was uncertain whether he could do so, and if not, the question would fall into the hands of Signor Salvatore Morelli, who was inclined, however, to modify and possibly omit his "Article 2," which proposes "a substitute."

10th December, Mr. Nathan writes:—"The Left has decided to make our question its own. Dr. Bertani, who is an extremely distinguished surgeon and physician as well as one of the most respected members of the Left, will be the spokesman, and fight the question from the sanitary point of view. Two other really good orators have promised to speak. I am not too sanguine about the result, but believe, nevertheless, that we shall have a great many votes for Repeal. A large number of petitions have been sent to the Italian Parliament by the Umbrian peasants and by working men's associations. The province of Romagna is being thoroughly organised for the work, and a meeting is held and an address given every Sunday evening, at one or other town or village.

"A book has appeared, by Dr. Veronese, of Florence, on the subject of our crusade."

Next to the approaching Parliamentary conflict the most important event of the autumn was the stirring appeal addressed in the pages of *La Donna* (Venice), by Signora Gualberta Beccari to her countrywomen, and the ready and hearty response it met with. Beautiful articles were called forth by the appeal of the editor of

La Donna in the pages of other journals, by Malvina Frank, Georgina Saffi, Madame Lo Sko, and others. The ladies of Milan also began at this time to organize for the work. Mr. Nathan rejoiced over this accession of force to the cause in Italy. "We have need," he wrote, "of the intuitions which seemingly God bestows only on those *women* whom He best loves." It is impossible to reproduce, *in extenso*, in the pages of this narrative, the beautiful published appeals and private letters of the women of Italy, or even to give more than very meagre extracts. There is a nobility of soul as well as of intellect evident in their advocacy of this cause which bids us hope great things for the future of the country. Mrs. Beccari wrote in *La Donna* :—

"Signora Giorgia Saffi has had recourse to the Female Operative Society of Forli (of which she is President), exhorting her working sisters to support with their vote the demand for the abolition of registered prostitution, and she has succeeded in getting the girls of the unhappy class most exposed to the sad chances of misery to join with us in the just and praiseworthy protest, and to sign their names to it. One hundred and twenty of their signatures come to swell the numbers, certainly not small, which have been received up to now. The awakening of these poor women is specially worthy of attention, as showing that they also are beginning to take an interest in what concerns them, and those are worthy of all blessing who have contributed to this moral uprising, which will greatly tend to establish their material well-being, so essential to their chances of avoiding evil and following good. When the educated classes applaud any proposed reform I am glad, for good may be augured for our cause; but when one succeeds in persuading the people, when the masses understand and applaud and support us, declaring war against vice, not only in words but in action, there seems to me ground for the greatest consolation, and the surest guarantee for the public and private morality which thus strives to raise itself from the level—alas! so low—to which it has fallen. When the people begin to be

possessed of a truth, when their conscience points to the pursuit of this truth as the most sacred of duties, when they understand that by following it they will secure good, not only to themselves and their families, but to all men and to all humanity, there is every reason to hope for the triumph of that moral law which should be, and yet will be, the supreme guide of all our actions. When the masses rebel against an injustice, that injustice cannot have a long life; no force can overcome that powerful force of a nation taking counsel with itself, and demanding a reckoning for the abuses which have arisen in it, and which have made it an instrument of evil through its servitude to the despotism of sensual passions. The community of ideas and of aspirations, the brotherhood of principles, which we see arising, which binds together the educated and the uneducated, which makes the toiling woman one with her cultured sister—all this is the augury of a pacific revolution which shall bring about the reformed morality we so long for.

“To mothers, especially, I commend the earnest words of Giorgina Saffi; let them be deeply stored in the heart, and may their teachings be diligently followed. For the love of the sons so dear to you, and for their own truest good, impress her words on your minds and follow in her steps, bringing up your own dear ones in the love of virtue. It is from you chiefly that must come the impulse which shall prepare a worthy future to make reparation for the injustices of the past and present.”

In the article referred to, Signora G. Saffi writes:—

“These legislators, these so-called *practical* men, do not perceive what manner of thing it is that they sanction by their registration. It is the debasement of women to be the venal instruments of the most brutal passions. They legalize one of the most horrible forms of slavery in beings whom Providence destined for the dearest and holiest duties of family life—a slavery of the body, not to *toil*, but, far worse, to *vice*; the degradation of womanhood from the sphere of *humanity* to that of *passive animality*, an animal condition more abject than that of the brutes, for theirs is guided by instinct, but this is subject alone to the dictates of a hideous libertinage.

“They do not perceive that the injury, the degradation, the

brutalising effects are not confined to woman alone ! Man and woman are one for evil as well as for good, and every slavery degrades and corrupts alike those who impose and those who suffer it. All the hypocrisy of custom and social appearances cannot enable a man to escape free—in his inner life, in his conscience, in his character—from the crime that profanes and treads underfoot the dignity of the human attributes in the companion of his mission on earth.”

The following, received by Mrs. Butler, represents the joint action of men and women, in Italy, in this work of reform :—

“ Society of Operatives of Bologna,

“ Executive Council, 16th November, 1875.

“ GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION.

“ To the Illustrious Lady Secretary of the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution.

“ MADAM,—I have great pleasure in forwarding to you a resolution, passed by a large majority, by our Society of Working Men and Women in their General Assembly of both sexes on the 29th October ultimo. The meeting was summoned to consider the question of giving in the adhesion of this Society to the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution. The resolution was preceded by two speeches on the subject by a male and female member, and by a full and complete discussion in our assemblies of the 24th and 29th October.

“ I have communicated our decision to the Central Italian Committee of the Federation at Rome. But it has seemed to me a duty to address myself also to the free and powerful philanthropic Association which first gave itself to this generous task in England, the land of all liberty and of every noble initiative.

“ May the vote of the Society of Operatives of Bologna serve to show that the Bolognese working men and women love virtue and respect the sanctity of the family, and that they are of one accord with a great part of the English nation in condemning

every law which is not inspired by morality, and which has not an educative and civilizing effect on the masses of the people.

“I am, with much esteem,

“J. BERTI, President.

“Sealed with the official Seal of the Society.”

RESOLUTION.

“The Society of Operatives of Bologna in ordinary General Meeting assembled on the evening of 29th October, 1875, the Members of both sexes being present :

“Being convinced that the existing Government regulations concerning prostitution are a grave attack on common right, and on the equality of persons before the law ; that they are opposed to the educational duty of the State, since they sanction and incite to immorality ; that they offend against the personal right and the dignity of womanhood, and that they destroy the essentially civilizing principle of rehabilitation ; that they do not carry out, or at most but very inefficiently, the purpose by which it is pretended to justify them, that is, the ensuring of the public safety ;

“Recognising from bitter experience that it is the families of the poor that are the special sufferers from these regulations ;

“Being sure that a happier time will come, in which a fuller conscience of duty, a more elevated material and moral condition for women, the abolition of standing armies, and a greater equality in all social conditions, will annihilate the chief causes of prostitution ;

“Does hereby resolve to associate itself to the noble forces of the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, and to the Central Italian Committee at Rome for the abolition of the aforesaid regulations ;

“And does hereby authorise the same esteemed Committee to use this Act of adhesion in support of the petition to be presented to the National Parliament in favour of the said object.”

Early in December, the Roman Secretary received

the adhesion of the "Fratellanza Artigiana d'Italia," an immense working men's association, numbering over twenty thousand members. This adhesion was given after formal deliberation ; and besides giving in a formal adhesion, the officers of the Society added their names to the Parliamentary Petition. This Association represents the semi-liberal and conservative working men of Italy.

This chapter of our narrative may be fittingly concluded with the following summary of the work, written by Mr. Nathan to the Central Committee of the Federation :—

From Signor Giuseppe Nathan to Mrs. Butler.
Federazione Britannica-Continetale
(Sezione Italiana).

Comitato Centrale Italiano,
Ufficio, Via dei Prefetti 17, Roma.

December, 1875.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wish to give you a more detailed account than I have yet given you of the work we have been doing in Italy since you left us. Now that we are getting near the end of the year, when all good men of business make up their books and verify what have been the profits and losses of the year, I think it is only right that we should send you an account of the profits that have been derived from the working of your noble idea.

"That it has taken root deeply in Italy is beyond all possibility of dispute ; but it must not be forgotten that here we are somewhat differently situated to what you are ; because, while in England, you can, from an un-subjected district, bring your work to bear on a subjected one, here we are all under the same law, under one central power. Any girl who wishes to abandon a life of shame and sin, is here perfectly incapable of doing so, even were she to make the effort of immigrating from

one extremity of Italy to the other; for the police would at once be made cognizant of the fact, and would immediately subject her (in accordance with the regulations) to the sanitary obligations, wherever she might be; thus virtually obliging her to give up all hope of being able to follow an honest calling. So many instances of this have come under our notice since you woke us to a new life, that we can scarcely number them. When we began by publishing one such case in the *Emancipazione* of June 12th, 1875, which we thought at that time was something exceptional, we were greeted with an almost universal exclamation of, 'Why, that is nothing new; there is not a man in Italy of a certain age who could not produce a similar instance from his own personal experience;' and I must confess (to the everlasting shame of the disreputable slave system be it spoken!) I scarcely ever do find a man who cannot recollect a similar fact coming at one time or other under his notice.

"You know the names of the members of our Central Italian Committee, therefore I need not tell you that we justly exercise a certain amount of influence over the tone in which our subject has been treated. It will perhaps have struck you as a proof of this, that *ridicule*, which is ever foremost in Italy in attacking those questions which it is convenient to suffocate, has never dared to turn its arms against our committee or our cause; and I cannot help feeling that this proof alone is sufficient to determine the fact that Italy was not only ripe for the idea you brought among us, but that that idea will be applied here logically, thoroughly, and in all its bearings, however much it may clash with past ideas and institutions. I do not of course deny that we owe a very great deal of the popularity which our cause has now undoubtedly acquired in Italy to its having found ardent supporters in Garibaldi, Musio, Quadrio, Saffi,

Cairolì, Petroni, and many other truly illustrious names ; nor were the aristocracy slow in coming forward when they saw that we were backed by men like the Prince Francesco Pallavicini, Duke Torlonia, the Marquis of Cassibile, and many others whom I do not name, because I really cannot give any more weight to their signatures than to those of any other honest man. What has really pleased me is to see that so many Professors of Universities have sent in their adhesion, and some also undertook to collect signatures amongst the young men who came to their lectures ; and thus really proved to us that, in some Universities at least, and especially at Pavia and at Rome, professors and students equally take an interest in the cause of morality and purity, and work steadfastly for its progress.

“ I do not think I could name a single town in Italy in which we have not at present someone working for our cause ; and what above all else is encouraging, and moreover gives us certainty of success, is that the working classes, of whatsoever shade or colour of political opinion, have made our question theirs, and are determined to uphold it on every occasion, and with every means in their power. As I say, therefore, the victory is ours, although accidental, practical obstacles, for the moment, prevent our claiming it. Thus although in Parliament our Bill for Repeal may be thrown out, still that will not in the least damage our influence in the country, which takes little or no interest in parliamentary debates, as they are here carried on, but which, when once it has set its mind on obtaining a given thing from Parliament, simply substitutes another for its present member, if he does not vote for what his constituents are united in claiming.

“ Nor can we say we are dissatisfied with the Press. It has—with a few rare exceptions, and those mostly official papers—loyally opened to us its columns, while a very

large proportion of the newspapers is favourable to our views.

“ A great many ladies have now entered the lists, and in them we have found powerful allies. You will have seen most probably the beautiful articles that have lately been written on the subject in the *Donna*; amongst them, I cannot help calling your special attention to those of Mrs. Beccari, Mrs. Saffi, and Mrs. Luisa Lo Sko. From the various aspects under which they have treated the subject, they have been greatly admired in Italy, and in many cases have been the means of unexpected conversions to our cause. Nothing succeeds like success, and of this we have a double proof in Italy in the fact that the light in which men are beginning to regard women is very different, since they have shown that they know how to uphold what is true and just, and in the change which has taken place as to the prophecies of the final result of our agitation. I hope to tell you soon of the actual constitution of a Ladies' National Association in Italy.

It would be absolutely impossible for me at this moment to give you a detailed account of what we have done during this year of work in Italy. You know very well that a new question requires, besides being discussed by the Press, to be constantly discussed in those *tête à tête* interviews which are generally far more fruitful than newspaper articles, as it is then easier to explain a great many points which otherwise remain insufficiently developed; and we certainly have not spared time or lungs in endeavouring to make proselytes to our cause, nor have our efforts been without success. Of course we have more need of rendering public our ideas by word of mouth than you have in England, owing to the great number of people here who can neither read nor write. We therefore do our best to explain our principles in small quiet meetings, or in

conferences of about a hundred persons ; not that we shall in future fail to have also some large public meetings on the subject, but at present it is not so desirable, owing to the difficulty there always is in keeping anything like order in a large public meeting in Italy.

"I told you some days ago that the Left intend making our question a part of their programme in Parliament ; we shall consequently have a great many more votes favourable to us than I at first dared to hope. Several of the supporters of the Government are also favourable to our cause. Bertani, Cairoli, and other influential members of the Left, have promised to speak on our subject, and the discussion will come on probably shortly after the Christmas holidays. I shall continue my account another day. I have now to go to a meeting of members of Parliament, in order to discuss the different points in our question, and the reasons why we cannot accept S. Morelli's second Article.

"Believe me, yours faithfully,

"G. NATHAN."



CHAPTER VI.

"The system of official tolerance of prostitution is irreconcilable with the idea of the State as a moral power, and with every sound principle of social economy, and is regarded with just reprobation by the conscience of the immense majority of the people."—*Extract from the decree issued by the municipal authorities of Zurich suppressing "Maisons de Tolerance."*

WE now turn to the contemplation of what has been done in Switzerland during the past year, and here we encounter a great activity and vast progress made. We see here the action in this question of a free nation, the centre of great moral and intellectual activity; and in the events which we are about to narrate, much will be found from which instruction and encouragement may be gathered by all engaged elsewhere in the abolition work. It is characteristic of the question before us, that wherever it takes vital root we observe the joint action of men and women. The women of Switzerland have shown remarkable power of self-organisation for active work. The following letter was received by Mrs. Butler in June, 1875, from Madame Courvoisier:—

"Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland, June, 1875.

"DEAR MADAM,—Your visit has left in the hearts of all the women who heard you ineffaceable impressions, and there are many who are disposed to join with me in enrolling themselves in the grand league against legalized prostitution. At the close of our first Con-

ference, a meeting of ladies was held at my house, with the view of working in the way which you had pointed out to us. My own wish was to proceed straight to the object in view, and to take up at once our position in the contest; but I had to reckon with the scruples of many persons, as fully persuaded as myself of the iniquity and the horror of the scourge of prostitution, but too timid as yet, or too fettered by circumstances, to dare to pronounce themselves. . . . We have formed a society, of which I am the secretary. . . . We have established an asylum for the reception of poor and friendless girls, with the object of protecting them and procuring them work, and above all, of saving them from becoming victims of the licensed houses of prostitution. Although very indirectly, our Refuge Society attaches itself to your Association by this last-named feature; it is a preventive measure.

“As to the main work, that which I have so much at heart, an open opposition to the evil, and a complete adhesion of a large number of persons to the Federation, it has at last commenced in this town. My desire was that our Refuge Society should declare itself in this sense, but not being generally supported in this, I have been obliged to commence otherwise, while still entertaining the hope that, ere long, a large number of the members of the Refuge Association will give me their names. I accordingly, a few days ago, assembled a few ladies at my house, and after having read to them your letter of last April, the address from Birmingham, signed by the Committees of the Ladies’ National Association, and some articles from the *Shield*, which I thought calculated to enlighten those ladies who had not been present at your Conference as to the nature of the enemy you are opposing and whose attacks are making themselves felt among ourselves also, I had the gratification of receiving their names for the formation of a

Committee in alliance with the Federation, the members of which are resolved to take steps in their respective neighbourhoods to obtain as large a number of names as possible. We reckon upon the distribution of your address, and upon that of the address from Birmingham, to aid us powerfully. I am fain to believe that the Committee of Gentlemen at Chaux-de-Fonds will likewise send you in their adhesion, as in the case of Neuchâtel. However it may be, with the help of God, there will be a protest in the interests of justice and of public morality. We feel that we are very weak and very inexperienced ; our beginning is very small, and we have need of direction and encouragement.

"It is, I presume, to the office of the Federation that I should address the adhesion of our Committee : you will perhaps have the goodness to receive it.

"I beg you, dear Madam, to accept the expression of my affectionate regard.

M. COURVOISIER.

"P.S.—Please convey to the Central Committee of the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of Legalized Vice, the following :—

"June 10th, 1875, was formed at Chaux-de-Fonds, a committee of fifteen ladies, who declare their adhesion to the Federation, and who will seek, by all the means in their power, the abolition of prostitution as sanctioned by the laws or by their representatives."

The sympathies of the women of England who have laboured in this cause soon became strongly aroused for the women of other countries whose efforts had been from time to time reported to them. The following is the address alluded to by Madame Courvoisier. It was signed by the representatives of the Ladies' Committees throughout Great Britain, and sent to the ladies of Switzerland who had joined in this work :—

"DEAR FRIENDS,—Our beloved fellow-worker, Mrs.

Butler, of Liverpool, has apprised us of your great sympathy for the cause which she and we have so much at heart, and for which a short time ago she left her family and her country to carry to you the message which God had put in her heart to communicate to you.

"We wish first to thank you cordially for all your goodness to her, and to tell you that we believe the success which she had among you to be an answer to our prayers for her, when we sent her forth with the certainty that your God, who is also ours and hers, would guard her in safety under the shadow of His wings.

"We look upon you, dear Swiss friends, as allied with us in a special manner. We and you have advantages which are not possessed by less favoured countries. You, like ourselves, enjoy great freedom; like ourselves you also possess the open Bible, and perfect liberty to worship God according to the convictions of your own hearts. But you have certain advantages which we do not share. You have no great standing army; and, up to the present time, the curse of prostitution has not been established among you by the State. It appears to us that all these advantages render you especially suitable for being the principal guides of a movement which, beginning humbly, will extend itself on all sides, and be the means of delivering Europe from a great curse and a terrible oppression.

"We wish, however, affectionately to assure you that we do not fail to appreciate what this will cost you, for we are not engaged in any trivial conflict. Many among us could tell you what horror and repugnance took possession of our souls, when our eyes were opened for the first time to the knowledge of the evil which we were called upon to resist in our own country. Some among us, accustomed to consecrate the greater part of our time to the care of our children and households, shrank

with terror at the thought of having our names associated with such a question ; but this moment of weakness passed, and we rose up, resolved, though always remembering our own weakness, to face fearlessly this great abomination, and make war against it until death.

“ It may be useful to you to learn something of the manner in which we began the work in England. Though at the beginning we drew in our breath and shuddered, so to speak, we soon found that boldness was necessary ; that we must speak in a manner to be understood ; and that we must awaken all the cities in our country, form committees, and hold meetings ; that women must learn to speak to meetings of women ; that those who had not confidence enough to speak must write essays and read them at these conferences.* In those meetings petitions addressed to Parliament were distributed to be signed by the persons present, and great numbers of women always joyfully undertook to procure the signatures of the women of their own towns, and return them to the ladies present. By this means we were enabled to send up a very large number of petitions to Parliament, and thereby to convince our legislators that the women of England would persistently and religiously oppose the horrible indignities imposed upon their sex in the persons of their poor and unfortunate sisters.

“ We have maintained from the beginning that men and women are equal before God ; we recognise no law which sanctions and protects vice in men, while we resist with all the energy of which we are capable every law which combines the double injustice of punishing and torturing women because they participate in a sin

* It may be well to remark that the exceptional position occupied by women in holding conferences and addressing meetings on this subject was forced upon them by the attitude of the Press, and by “ the conspiracy of silence,” as it has been denominated, into which the English Press seemed almost universally to have entered, making the communication of information on this subject impossible by any other way than that adopted.

in which men are protected and encouraged. We know that abject poverty, abandonment, and orphanage, are among the most frequent causes of the fall of young girls; and also that snares are laid for them by the wretches who make a gain of the traffic in human beings; and for these reasons we consider the law so much the more unjust, which oppresses and outrages the poor slave, while it offers the encouragement of immunity to those who procure those slaves.

“We have worked from year to year, and by the help of God we will continue to work without relaxing our efforts or losing courage until we have accomplished the difficult task of repealing this base and vicious law. The position which we have taken in this country was well described by our venerable Christian statesman, the Right Honourable J. W. Henley, when from his seat in Parliament he uttered these words: ‘It is objected that this agitation is the work of women; but it is impossible not to see that it is women who are above all others affected by this law. We men do not know what they suffer. These women have set their feet upon the Rock of Ages, and nothing will drive them from that position. They have taken up the cross, despising the shame, and they will not shrink or turn back.’

“We are often asked this question, Why do you women take up this matter? Why do you soil your minds by the knowledge of any such impurity? We reply that it would be a sin and a shame to act the coward and shut our eyes. The sacred historian tells us that women followed our Saviour in His profoundest degradation, when He was led as a condemned and despised malefactor to suffer inexpressible agony and an ignominious death outside the walls of Jerusalem. Women were distinguished by their devotion to Him in His humiliation. In our days the Son of God is crucified afresh by the open contempt of His holy

law of purity and mercy ; and shall we women abandon Him at such a moment ? Shall we turn our back and pass by the other way ? Assuredly not. Let us accept rather the pain and the grief. We shall prove, as some of us have already done, that there is a joy and peace in the work which far surpasses the humiliation and the pain.

“ You will permit us, perhaps, to offer you a few suggestions concerning your work. We would recommend that each of our friends should endeavour to procure as many names as possible of men and women who may be willing to join our European Federation ; for, now that this Society is formed, we recognise no nationalities : England and the Continent have joined hands, and will, we are fain to believe, labour together with one mind, until this terrible iniquity shall have disappeared. We propose that you should transmit to the proper official bodies petitions signed by as many persons as you can induce thus to attach their names. Such of you as have thoroughly studied the subject will be able to arrange little conferences with the women of other towns, to whom you could utter the convictions of your hearts ; these would return to their hearths warmed by the zeal which animates yourselves, and ready to communicate to their friends and neighbours their own knowledge and their just opinion of the subject. You might likewise address yourselves to influential men amongst you, entreating them to see to it, for the honour of their country, that this evil do not gain a footing among them, and asking them to become members of the Federation. While we hope that it would be superfluous to warn you against allowing yourselves to be influenced by the utilitarian arguments too often enunciated, we can affirm that statistics and facts, of European extent, collected from all parts, prove that laws and regulations which transgress the moral

law never protect or ameliorate the health of the people, but the contrary."

"We shall anxiously await tidings of the progress of the good work among you. The struggle has been long, but we do not regret it, because we think it better to strike at the impure root than only to cut off certain branches. We shall succeed, not on account of our wisdom or strength, but because God is with us, and we fight under His banner. In England we have had to pass through seasons of deep discouragement, but those seasons have almost always been followed by a period of renewed hope and triumph, so that we have learned not to be easily downcast, but to fight on in the face of every difficulty. We receive with joy your adhesion and sympathy as one of the brightest events of our crusade, and we thank God that we have succeeded in forming a British and Continental Federation. We beg you to communicate this address to all the friends of our cause in your country. We have the honour of signing ourselves, in the name of our various committees, your sincere friends,

<i>Birmingham</i>	HANNAH P. KENWAY.	} Hon. Secs.
	LOUISA STAMPS.....	
	MARGARET TANNER, Treasurer of the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.	
<i>Bristol</i>	LUCY THOMAS, President.	
	MARY A. ESTLIN,	} Hon. Secs.
	MARY PRIESTMAN,	
<i>Belfast</i>	ISABELLA M. S. TOD, Hon. Sec.	
<i>Banbury</i>	ANN P. HARLOCK,	" "
<i>Bridgewater</i>	F. J. THOMPSON,	" "
<i>Bridport</i>	MARY CARPENTER, Correspondent.	
<i>Brighton</i>	CATHERINE MARIA RICKETS, Hon. Sec.	
<i>Cork</i>	ELIZABETH ADDEY, Hon. Sec.	
<i>Cheltenham</i>	L. F. MARCH-PHILLIPPS, Hon. Sec.	

<i>Edinburgh</i>	ELIZABETH PEASE NICHOL, President.	
	ELIZA WIGHAM, Hon. Sec.	
<i>Glasgow</i>	ELIZA MACLAREN,	} Hon. Secs.
	ELLEN HARVEY,	
<i>Halifax</i>	ELLEN E. WAITE, Hon. Sec.	
<i>Hastings</i>	C. E. FAWCETT,	„ „
<i>Harborne</i>	SARAH EDMUNDS,	„ „
<i>Leeds</i>	HANNAH FORD, President.	
	CELIA WALKER, Hon. Sec.	
<i>London</i>	CATHERINE SMITH,	„ „
<i>Northampton</i>	HARRIET DENT ADKINS,	} Hon. Secs.
	CAROLINE DENT,.....	
<i>Norwich</i>	LOUISA BLENCOE WARNES,	} Hon. Sec..
	MARIA DOWSON	
<i>Newcastle-on-Tyne</i> ...	PHÆBE CLARK, Hon. Sec.	
<i>Plymouth,</i>	} CAROLINE NICHOLSON, Hon. Sec.	
<i>Devonport, and</i> ...		
<i>Stonehouse</i>		
<i>Ripon</i>	JANE WALTON,	„ „
<i>Sunderland</i>	KATHERINE BACKHOUSE	„ „
<i>Sheffield</i>	CHARLOTTE C. WILSON,	„ „
<i>Scarboroughh</i>	MARY S. ROWNTREE,	„ „
<i>Wigan</i>	ELEANOR RYLEY,	„ „
<i>Waterford</i>	ABBY WALPOLE,	„ „
<i>Woolwich</i>	ELIZABETH BARNES,	„ „
<i>York</i>	EMILY J. CASSON,	„ „
		and others.

A reply from the ladies of Switzerland was received to this address, dated 24th June, 1875 ; in which the sentiments expressed were fully reciprocated.

M. Humbert wrote as follows from Neuchâtel on the 21st of August, recording one of the earliest practical steps taken:—

“I have just returned more satisfied than I can express with my sojourn at Chaux-de-Fonds. I held during the day of the 16th of August several conferences,

and in the evening, at eight o'clock, I assisted at the Assembly, of which I shall now give you an account.

"Chaux-de-Fonds Assembly of 16th August, 1875.

"The meeting summoned at the Hotel de Ville in the hall of the Tribunal was composed of about sixty gentlemen who had responded to an invitation addressed to them personally by the Provisional Committee.

"Amongst them there were present members of the Grand Council of the Canton, of the Municipal Administration, of the School Directory, of the Clergy, both national and independent, as well as the Master of the Masonic Lodge, and several citizens of note on the Exchange, bankers, and well-known manufacturers and traders in watches.

"Mons. Stoll, Inspector of Primary Schools for the Canton, was called to the chair, and the Pastor Galley acted as secretary. The latter read a full report as to the proceedings of the Provisional Committee for the Abolition of State-regulated Vice from its foundation, and concluded by inviting the Assembly to nominate a regular Committee, and to give it the necessary instructions.

"This proposition was agreed to without opposition.

"We then passed to the formation of the Committee, which was composed as follows:—

"J. Ducommun-Robert, Deputy in the Grand Council of the Canton.

"J. Galley, Pastor. (National.)

"Borel-Gerard, Independent Pastor.

"J. Breitmeyer, Advocate.

"H. Reickel, Banker.

"Quartier-la-Tente, Greffier du Tribunal.

"Calame Robert, Merchant.

"C. E. Jacob, Vice-President of the School of Watch-making.

"J. Lenz, Engraver.

“The Committee will itself name its office, and will send me an official notification of its appointment. At the end of the meeting, each of the persons present inscribed his signature of adhesion at the foot of the *procès verbal*, and paid his subscription of three francs into the hands of the banker, Reickel.

“This is a good piece of work, and will serve as a model and encouragement to other Committees. A Journal, however, is indispensable for spreading the knowledge of good business done.

“Amongst the friends whom I visited on the following day, a physician, one of the oldest practitioners in Chaux-de-Fonds, told me that experience entirely condemned all that was alleged in favour of the maintenance of the system of regulation, whether considered from the point of view of a greater guarantee of family morality, or as considered in the interests of public health. Precisely the contrary takes place, he says, viz., an increase in those maladies, and especially in those emanating directly from these official sources of debauchery.”

L'Union Libérale (Neuchâtel) of the 26th of August reported and commented favourably on this meeting.

The *Patriote Suisse* wrote :—

“This beginning was a first step in the struggle now undertaken ; but it was necessary to attack the citadel of vice itself. On the 16th of August a meeting of citizens took place at the Hotel de Ville to consider the question ; an extremely interesting report read to the Assembly by Pastor Galley urged the necessity of forming a Society and a regular Committee, and the proposal having been unanimously adopted, the Society was formed bearing the title named above. M. Aimé Humbert, one of the promoters of the work in our Canton, gave an account of this Abolitionist movement in England. . . In Italy similar Abolitionist Societies have been formed, and

the *Diritto*, an important journal, has constituted itself the organ of the Association, while many other journals have taken the cause in hand.

“Many interesting details given by M. Humbert proved that it is becoming generally recognised that the tolerated houses, far from acting as a restraint upon prostitution or diminishing the evil effects of vice, tend to extend the one and to aggravate the other.

“With regard to Chaux-de-Fonds, the orator energetically condemned its toleration of *five* houses of known and officially regulated prostitution. . . . ‘When I pass through certain of your streets,’ said he, ‘and see those closed houses, with their iron-barred windows, within which those unhappy women are shut up and deprived of that liberty which our institutions guarantee to all ; this slavery tolerated for whose benefit?—for the benefit of vice, for the corruption of youth, the sorrow and shame of families, and the general ill,—when I see these houses, every republican and democratic sentiment within me is revolted, and I ask whether you will any longer endure this public outrage upon justice, morality, and religion!’ . . .

“The time has come when the public conscience must rouse itself, when our population must throw off the ignominious yoke of these houses of prostitution ; it is time to close these temples of vice thrown open to our children. Chaux-de-Fonds makes great sacrifices for public education. We hesitate not to impose the heaviest burdens upon ourselves for the intellectual development of our young people, but we desire to keep them virtuous, and how can they remain so if we offer such facilities of corruption to those who issue from our schools?”

The *Union Libérale*, commenting on the above, says:—

“We heartily concur in the above remarks of the correspondent of the *Patriote*, and are ready to assist the new Association by every means in our power.”

While the work was thus progressing energetically in Switzerland, M. Humbert announced in the following letter the inauguration of the movement in Germany:—

“I wrote on the 10th September to the Central Com-

mittee of the *Inner Mission* at Berlin, and as I knew but few of its members, I thought it well to convey to them my letter by the hands of the city missionary, Felgar of Berlin, who has been staying with me during the past summer. While planning this I received a letter and a packet of pamphlets addressed to me by M. Rathmann, of Berlin, special preacher and itinerant agent to the *Inner Mission*. He informed me that his friend, the Pastor Stutzer of Brunswick, had sent on to him a letter which I had addressed to him (M. Stutzer), consulting him as to the steps I should take in Germany, and as to the means of getting possession of a copy of the great German petition of 1869 against legalized prostitution. As this petition was got up on the initiative of the *Inner Mission*, M. Stutzer begged M. Rathmann to write to me as to what he judged best to accomplish my wish. Consequently, M. Rathmann, in the name of the Central Committee of the *Inner Mission*, informs me that that Society will gladly enter into relations with us, and has hastened to give us all information of the programme of its Seventeenth Congress, to which foreign visitors will be admitted with pleasure. He has also sent me the above-mentioned petition in pamphlet form, accompanied by a report on the state of public morality in Germany in 1869 (whence the *Medical Enquirer* drew its extract, entitled "*De Moribus Germanorum*"). Finally, although the consideration of this petition is not among the orders of the day of their Congress, he can show us from the annual reports of the *Inner Mission* (of which I send you that of 1871), that the Association has never ceased to occupy itself with the interests of public morality; that it had addressed a petition to the Prussian Landtag (of which I have a copy), especially concerning the condition of Berlin, and which had more success than that to the Reichstag; and finally that the subject of prostitution would form a

portion of their programme, and would appear in all their annual reports. Thereupon I sent directly to M. Rathmann my letter to the director of the Committee, and set to work to seek for a delegate. The Pastor Nagel, to whom I addressed myself in the first place, was, to his great regret, unable to accept, on account of his numerous occupations. I had more success with M. Frederick August Rollier, pastor of Saint Aubin and professor of theology at the Academy of Neuchâtel. He can speak in German, and has the gift of eloquence; he has already acted as a delegate at the Brighton meetings. He accepts this mission with gratitude, and with true enthusiasm for our cause. I shall accredit him not only to the general meetings of the *Inner Mission*, but to the Special Conference devoted to the work of Rescue. I have this moment received the official reply of the Central Committee of the *Mission*, and hasten to transmit to you a copy. The present President is the celebrated professor of theology, Dr. Isaac Dorner, and it happens that he is a cousin of my wife, and a man with whom we have always been on friendly terms. I also have announced M. Rollier at the "*Bureau de logement*" at Dresden. Another Swiss of my acquaintance, the German pastor Ehni, will introduce our question."

The report of the *Inner Mission* for 1871, alluded to above, speaks with regret of the fact that the Franco-German war had put back and paralysed the efforts being made in Germany against prostitution and its egal recognition.

In a later communication to the Federation, M. Humbert says:—

"Oct. 11th.—I hasten to inform you that our delegate, M. Rollier, has returned from his mission at Dresden, and that he has acquitted himself to my entire satisfaction. Not only has he been exceedingly well received,

but he has been able openly to unfurl the flag of the Federation.

"The German *Inner Mission* has not repudiated the Government regulation of prostitution. It only repudiates the French *régime*, and imagines that all is for the best, when for the French '*Maisons Tolérées*' is substituted registration, accompanied by 'cartes' or 'livrets,' with the obligation to attend the sanitary office.

"M. Rollier called attention to the fact that, in both cases, a legal sanction is given to vice; and that in this respect the German Government takes on itself the same responsibility as the French Government, with only a slight difference of system.

"He had two opportunities of setting forth the true principles before numerous audiences. The first occasion was in the first general assembly of the Congress, in the Church of Notre Dame, on Wednesday, the 6th of October, at half-past ten in the morning. The second was in the evening at Neustadt, after the Conference on Refuges. The reporter of the *Dresden Journal* expresses himself with precision on the object of the Federation,—which is a very happy thing, as it is the first mention made of our crusade in the German political press. I send you the original.

"I admire," continues M. Humbert, "the short and precise report given, and it is evident that M. Rollier must have been very clear and categorical to enable a journalist in a crowded church to seize and reproduce his ideas so exactly."

On the 20th September, a meeting of men and women was held in the Free Chapel, Neuchâtel. That town was filled with strangers attracted by the religious meetings announced for the 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, after the manner of the Brighton Conferences, and under the auspices of M. Theodore Monod. This meeting was

called by M. Aimé Humbert, on the occasion of the visit to Switzerland of Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon Amos, Mr. and Mrs. Percy Bunting, and Miss Lidgett. It was previously advertised in the *Feuille de Neuchâtel*, and by circular from house to house, which was accompanied by another circular addressed to women only, inviting them to attend a special conference of women in the same chapel on the 23rd.

At the meeting on the 20th the chapel was full, with the exception of a few seats in the galleries. M. Nagel opened the meeting, and was followed by Mr. Bunting, whose address was translated sentence by sentence by M. Petitpierre. M. Humbert then spoke, and M. Theodore Monod concluded the meeting by a prayer, which is described as having been peculiarly touching in relation to France. The meeting lasted two hours, and the effect produced was very favourable, many persons to whom the subject was entirely new listening with deep interest.

A special conference for men was held in the same city on the 22nd of September. M. Aimé Humbert had requested the Committee of Management of the Religious Conferences, to call a meeting of men on the subject of public morals. They, however, replied that they had no power to take such a step, but would place at his disposal the Great Hall of the Conferences at two o'clock on the 22nd, and announce the fact of the meeting at the conclusion of their own Conference. The meeting was extremely crowded. M. Aimé Humbert having been called upon to preside, the meeting was opened by Pastor Galley, with prayer. M. Humbert then gave a detailed account of the rise and progress of the movement, and of the difficulties to be overcome, and after alluding to the presence of English friends, concluded by reading a translation of a letter from Professor Sheldon Amos (then in Milan). M. Humbert

was supported by M. Espenett, pastor, from Cannes ; Mr. Bernard, from Berne ; M. Lambelet (banker), etc. Some opposition was offered by a gentleman present to the principles advocated by the Federation. M. Humbert replied with much energy, and was fortunately heard by numbers of persons who were at that moment arriving to take part in the religious conference to follow. It may here be mentioned that the hall in which the meeting took place is a portion of an old brewery, and is composed of three large rooms separated from each other only by pillars. Great interest was manifested in the orator's address, which was followed by loud applause, and the speaker was afterwards called upon on all sides for subscription lists, which he distributed.

The Special Conference of women took place at the same time in the Chapel of the Free Church, under the presidency of Madame Humbert, who was aided by Mrs. Bunting. In order to systematize the work of the Federation, the ladies nominated an Inter-Cantonal Committee, composed of the following ladies :—

Comité Inter-Cantonel de L'Association des Dames de la Suisse Francaise, Nommé dans la Conference de Neuchâtel, du 22 Septembre, 1875.

I.—CANTON DE NEUCHÂTEL.

- 1.—Neuchâtel : Mesdames Aimé Humbert and Nagel.
- 2.—Chaux-de-Fonds : Madame Courvoisier.
- 3.—Locle : Madame Ferdinand Richard.

II.—CANTON DE BERNE.

- 4.—Berne : Mesdames Borel Petitpierre ; De Watteville de Gingins.
- 5.—Bienne : Mesdames Grosjean ; Aurèle Robert.

III.—CANTON DE VAUD.

- 6.—Lausanne: Mesdames Louise Bridel: De Goumoëns Doxat.
 7.—Vevey: Mesdames Couvren Micheli; Monnet Monerae.
 8.—Yverdon: Mademoiselle Veuillemier.

IV.—CANTON DE GENÈVE.

- 9.—Genève: Madame de Gingins; Madlle. Nancy Coulin.

At the meeting itself there were present also: Mesdames Merle d'Aubigné, Dunant, Vaucher, and Mlle. Célérîer, of Geneva; Madame Van Muyden Saulter, of Lausanne; Madame Ed. Couvren, of Vevey; Mesdames de Watteville, de Portes, and Gerben, of Berne; Mlle. d'Etienne, of Yverdon; Mlle. Mélanie de Loriol, of Morges, etc., etc.

The following account of these proceedings was written for the *Shield*, by some of the English friends alluded to above:—

“Geneva, September 28th, 1875.

“M. Aimé Humbert, of Neuchâtel, the vigorous Continental Secretary of the Federation, has taken advantage of a series of religious conferences, which were held on September 20-23, in his own town, to hold three meetings on behalf of the Federation. That of September 20th was the first mixed meeting on this subject in Switzerland since Mrs. Butler's visit. It was well and influentially attended. Mr. Bunting gave an account of the state of the movement in England, and M. Humbert made an eloquent address. He told a story of six women who jumped out of the window of their prison one winter's day and were hunted over the country next morning by the Mayor, as, said he, the American slaves

were hunted by the planters. M. Theodore Monod, of Paris, closed the meeting with prayer. He warmly adheres to the movement, and expresses the conviction that the religious revival now spreading over the Continent ought to find practical result in a war against prostitution.

"On September 22nd, separate conferences were held for men and women. At the women's meeting there were about a hundred present, including a party of ladies from la Chaux-de-Fonds, which will be remembered by all who read the accounts of Mrs. Butler's visit to Switzerland, as the frontier town in which the French system has been introduced with such frightful effect. As a result of Mrs. Butler's visit, a committee of thirty-three ladies has been formed, and on the first of May a '*Maison de Secours, asile provisoire de protection pour les jeunes filles sans travail et sans appui*' was opened. A considerable number of girls have lately passed through the Institution into respectable situations where they are still watched over by the ladies. The Institution is warmly supported by the inhabitants, and is a good nursery of sound opinion on our subject. Madame Perrigance gave a very business-like account of this work. The principal topic of the meeting was the best mode of protecting young girls in dangerous circumstances, a subject specially interesting in Switzerland, because the trade of entrapping young girls into vice under pretext of foreign domestic service is more active and more highly organised here than in most countries. Mrs. Bunting contributed information on the methods adopted in England for the protection of the friendless and the recovery of the fallen.

"The men's meeting was held at the same time and was very well attended. M. Humbert briefly opened it, and afterwards, in reply to questions, delivered a most stirring address, in the course of which he told the story


of Mrs. Percy of Aldershot, and warned the meeting against the insidious progress of the system in Switzerland. The close of his speech was received with a burst of acclamations,—a very rare thing in this country. The meeting was well kept up, short speeches following one another in quick succession, until the room had to be vacated for another meeting. The result of these meetings was that many signatures were obtained of adherents to the Federation.

“Similar religious meetings were held in Lausanne on September 24th and 25th, and thanks largely to the energy of Madame Merle d’Aubigné, of Geneva, the friends in Lausanne were able to hold meetings for men and for women on the 25th. Owing to the short notice given, the attendance was not so good as at Neuchâtel. A small ladies’ committee already exists in connection with M. Borel’s Refuge at Geneva, and this will serve as a nucleus for a larger committee on the whole subject. Political action is necessary as soon as possible, as there is at this moment a proposal before the Cantonal Council of State to introduce police surveillance of prostitution. The women’s meeting was attended by Madame Bridel, Madame Duplan of Lausanne, Madame Merle d’Aubigné of Geneva, Mademoiselle Du Port, and other ladies from different towns on the lake; and by Mrs. Bunting, Miss Lidgett, and Mrs. Amos. The last-named lady explained the English Acts, and urged the ladies to active efforts.

At the men’s meeting, M. de Préssensé, of Paris, the well-known French *Pasteur* and *Deputé* (who is a member of the Council of the Federation), spoke. He expressed his surprise that the subject had not earlier attracted the attention of the Christian Churches. Bad as prostitution was in every way, the legalization of it was ‘abominable.’ He was awake, however, to the peculiar difficulties of the agitation against this vicious

system; and the conductors of it would find themselves opposed by all sorts of subtle devices and tortuous State-craft. It was a subject, however, on which the conscience of the people and of the churches must emphatically speak. He had already joined the Federation, and was willing to give all the personal assistance he could, in any way that might be suggested to him, to the movement. Professor Amos and Mr. Bunting spoke on the agitation in England and on the relation of the work of the Federation to the object of the religious meetings. M. Theodore Monod expressed his sympathy. M. Buscarlet, Presbyterian Pastor at Lausanne, called attention to the system of entrapping young Swiss girls under pretext of finding them places. At the close of the meeting several gentlemen expressed their concurrence and their thorough readiness to join the Federation and to form a committee.

“There is one great difference between the English and the Continental modes of viewing laws affecting prostitution; namely, that in most Continental countries, including Switzerland, large and indefinite powers are understood to belong to the police, in dealing with this as with other matters, while in England the far greater regard for individual liberty causes the powers of the police to be more strictly limited and defined. It is quite possible on the Continent for a whole system of registration and of *Maisons Tolérées* to be introduced at the mere discretion of the police, without any law being made on the subject at all, or even in the face of a prohibitory statute. In this way the system has been introduced at la Chaux-de-Fonds, in one or two other places, and notably in Geneva; and it threatens to spread. In Geneva a law was passed some fifty years ago empowering the police to arrest and imprison the women without warrant or magistrate’s sentence. But, owing largely to the efforts of Professor Hornung, a



member of the Federation, who has written an important report on this subject, the law has been abolished and the operations of the police have been thereby not a little impeded.

"A private meeting was held on September 27th, at the house of Madame Merle d'Aubigné, at which Professor Hornung, M. Borel, Professor and Mrs. Amos, and Mr. Bunting spoke. M. de la Harpe, President of the Theological College, acted as interpreter. Public opinion in Geneva requires a great deal of enlightenment. But it is believed that a considerable impetus has been given to the movement, and that committees will shortly be formed. Père Hyacinth expresses himself ready to give all the aid in his power.

(Signed) "SHELDON AMOS,
SARAH M. AMOS,
PERCY W. BUNTING."

At the Conference alluded to, at which an Inter-cantonal Committee was formed, the following circular was drawn up for circulation in the various cantons:—

"Neuchâtel Intercantonal Committee,
"September 30th, 1875.

"To the women of the different cantons of Switzerland.

"After the impressive days which we have passed together, it is pleasant for us to think that the fraternal union which we have realized in our religious assemblies will continue to unfold its effects in the form of a common work accomplished by the agencies of different localities. We feel urged to come without delay to find you on your return to your firesides, to recall to your minds the desire which was expressed at Neuchâtel, that we should join ourselves together for the purpose of forming a committee in every place, and set ourselves immediately to the work. In our opinion the first thing to be done is to make widely known around us the aim, direct and indirect, of the Federation in the name of which we work, and to that end to

distribute subscription lists in order to engage as many persons as possible as adherents to our principles. The leaflet here enclosed is intended to recall to ourselves the points on which the Federation insists, and to make them clear to those who have not yet joined our ranks, as well as to give certain directions concerning the use of subscription lists. We send one for each member of the Intercantonal Committee, leaving them to pass them on to other persons in order to have them filled up. If you have exhausted the resources of your neighbourhood without being able to fill up the lists, you are earnestly requested to return them, with such subscriptions as you have received, to the address of M. Aimé Humbert. We add to this paper the circular addressed by the committees of English ladies to the Swiss ladies, which is very useful for distribution ; and also some copies of the speech which M. Humbert made on the occasion of Mrs. Butler's visit to Neuchâtel. We make an exception, in sending out these papers, of the Committee of Chaux-de-Fonds, which gave us a bright example by its zeal and its promptitude ; for not only did the ladies of that city, two months after the visit of Mrs. Butler, organize themselves, form committees, and found "the Refuge" (the object and the rules of which will presently be sent to you), but they have already filled four lists of subscriptions, and a fifth, which is in circulation, will presently bring up to a hundred the number of members of the Federation enrolled by the efforts of the ladies of Chaux-de-Fonds. Let us encourage each other mutually to follow this good example, and let us work not as for men, but as under the eyes of Him to whom we must give account. The formation of the Intercantonal Committee on the 23rd September was accomplished with a precipitation which was excusable, owing to the short time which we had at our disposal. Our nominations have not been endorsed, and the committee was therefore not able finally to constitute itself. We enclose to you the list of persons who were nominated by acclamation rather than in any regular manner ; these nominations ought to be ratified by the committees formed in each locality. As to the management of the Intercantonal Committee, since the office of the general Commissariat for the Continent is Neuchâtel, perhaps you may be inclined to confide it to the members

resident in Neuchâtel, who will appoint a secretary. Will you make your opinion known to us on this point? on which the opinion of the majority will rule. As soon as you have formed local committees anywhere, be so good as to send lists of your members to the different localities which have entered into the league. Finally, ladies and dear sisters, we have to pray you most earnestly to keep us informed of all the facts which come before you, and to communicate to us all the light you can, in order to make clear the grave question which occupies us. The forthcoming "Bulletin" will serve as a bond and means of communication between our different members. May He who came to seek and to save that which was lost make us ready for every good work for His glory.

(Signed) MARIE HUMBERT.
JULIE NAGEL."

At the close of the year, M. Humbert presented the following report to the Committee of the Federation. Although part of this report contains a repetition of some of the events already narrated, it gives so complete a *résumé* of the work, that we think it best to give it entire :—

"British, Continental, and General Federation for the
"Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution.
"Continental Department.

"Neuchâtel, Nov. 24th, 1875.

"To Professor James Stuart, M.A.,
"Hon. Secretary of the Federation.

"SIR,—Your two letters of September 13th and October 30th have remained without direct reply till now, owing to my complete occupation by my duties, and by the exigencies of our common struggle. I beg you therefore to accept my excuses, and I thank you cordially for your valued words of encouragement.

"I shall as soon as possible draw up a circular, but I

have been waiting till we are able to announce also further members of the General Council in various countries on the Continent. Men of action and of true influence are rare, and I have not wished to propose any of whom we are not perfectly sure.

"The purpose of the present letter is to submit to the Executive Committee a summary of what has been done, and of what remains to be done to bring to a successful issue the first period of my duties.

"Leaving aside Italy, which has its own centre of action and its own special correspondent, I shall limit myself to tracing in chronological order the progress of my own direct labours.

"I. On the 19th March, 1875, when I first entered on my duties—

"(1.) There existed only *pro tempore* Committees, which had been spontaneously and provisionally formed as a consequence of Mrs. Butler's conferences; viz.:—

"1. At Rome, a Central Committee.

"2. „ Geneva, a Local Committee of men.

"3. „ Neuchâtel, „

"4. „ Chaux-de-Fonds, a Committee of men and women.

"5. „ Lausanne, a Committee of women.

"At Berne and at Paris our friends were still without organization.

"(2.) While awaiting the publication of the Reports of Mrs. Butler's conferences, there were printed at Lausanne and distributed in different towns of France and Switzerland 1000 copies of the pamphlet entitled "La Moralité Publique," being a reproduction of my speech of February 6th, on the occasion of Mrs. Butler's visit to Neuchâtel.

"(3.) We were also able to distribute some copies of the following:—

"a. Circular of the English "Ladies' National Association."

"*b.* Address of the same Association to the French.

"*c.* Address of Mrs. Butler to the Italians, 28th Jan., 1875; and also various Nos. of the *Shield* and the *Medical Enquirer*."

"(4.) The first institution inspired by the visit of Mrs. Butler, 'Le Secours,' a temporary Asylum for Young Girls without employment or friends, founded by an association of ladies at Chaux-de-Fonds.

"II. April and May. Correspondence on the organization of the Foreign Department, and the publication of the Reports of the Conferences.

"III. June. (1.) Opening of the campaign at Chaux-de-Fonds by a petition of 170 landed proprietors to the State Council of the Canton of Neuchâtel, asking for the abolition of the licensed houses of ill fame. The State Council orders an official enquiry into the whole question.

"(2.) Distribution to Swiss ladies of the address of the Committees of the Ladies' National Association.

"(3.) Reply of ladies at Neuchâtel and Chaux-de-Fonds.

"IV. July. (1.) Publication of the brochure "*Une voix dans le désert*," by Mrs. Josephine E. Butler. French edition, 2000 copies.

"(2.) Visit to Zurich. Communications with the press on the public scandals resultant from the licensed houses in the municipality of Riesbach.

"(3.) Distribution in Switzerland of the "Address of the Protestant Churches of Great Britain to the Evangelical Churches of the Continent;" then successively in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and France.

"V. August. (1.) Publication of the German edition of the brochure by Mrs. Butler, "*Eine Stimme in der Wüste*," 1000 copies. The Italian edition also appears at Rome.

"(2.) Preparations for the campaign in Germany. Pam-

phlets and circulars are sent into the German Cantons of Switzerland, and the principal towns of Alsace and Lorraine. Commencement of relations with Belgium.

“(3.) Projected establishment of a Journal or Bulletin of the Federation. Forms of adhesion to the British and Continental Federation are sent into different countries; subscribers are required to sign them, and to pay an annual subscription of three francs, which will entitle them to a copy of the Bulletin till 31st December, 1876. The Bulletin will not appear till there are 1000 guaranteed subscribers, for it will not be presented to the public as a journal seeking subscriptions, but as the bond and organ of the Federation on the Continent. The purpose of these subscriptions and adhesions is to spread individual propagandism through the principal countries of the Continent, and to institute house to house visitations by numerous collectors of subscriptions, who will follow instructions issued by the Continental Department.

“(4.) Chaux-de-Fonds. Meeting for men, August 16th, at the Hôtel de Ville. Election of a permanent committee of nine members (see Report to the Executive Committee).

“(5.) Private enquiries as to prostitution in the towns of Chaux-de-Fonds and Berne.

“(6.) Steps taken for entering into relation with the Inner Mission of the German Evangelical Church, and especially to obtain full information of the course taken by them in combating the scourge of prostitution since the great petition that they initiated to the *Confédération du Nord*, in 1869, and the further petition relative to Berlin which they presented to the Prussian Landtag in 1871.

“VI. September. (1.) First “mixed Conference” at Neuchâtel. On the occasion of the visit of two members of the General Council of the Federation, Mrs. Sheldon Amos and Mr. Percy Bunting, of London, accompanied

by Mrs. Bunting and Miss Lidgett, the continental representative convoked by circular and advertisement a conversational conference for men and women, which took place at 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon, 20th of September, in the Oratory of the Free Church. There were present not only many persons from the different districts of the canton of Neuchâtel, but also from other Swiss cantons, and from France, who had been drawn to Neuchâtel by the various religious meetings announced for the early part of this week. A very favourable effect was produced, and influenced many foreigners and Swiss, to whom the question was quite new.

“(2.) A conference by invitation, for men exclusively, at which Mr. Bunting again assisted, was held in the great hall for religious meetings at Neuchâtel (formerly a brewery), at two in the afternoon of 22nd September. The meeting was opened by an earnest prayer from M. Galley, National Pastor of Chaux-de-Fonds, and presided over by M. Aimé Humbert, who translated into French a letter from Professor Sheldon Amos, and spoke several times in reply to the objections of one or two opponents. Several speakers successively mounted the tribune to support the work of the Federation, notably M. Espenett, Pastor of Cannes, M. Bernard, Pastor of Berne, M. de Perrot, Pastor of Neuchâtel, M. Perrelet, Pastor of Yverdon, etc.; and the meeting terminated with the signing of the articles of adhesion by those partisans who had not previously given in their names as members of the Federation.

“(3.) Special conference for ladies, also at Neuchâtel, and at the same hour, in the Oratory of the Free Church. This meeting, over which Madame Aimé Humbert presided, devoted itself specially to the consideration of preventive industries or institutions for women, and the counsels that were given on these points by our English guests, Mesdames Amos, Bunting, and Lidgett, were

highly appreciated. The widow of the illustrious Professor Merle d'Aubigné, of Geneva, also took an active part in the deliberations.

"(4.) To give a proper issue to the feminine movement in favour of the Federation, the Swiss ladies after the meeting formed an Intercantonal Committee, whose action at present extends over the cantons of Neuchâtel, Berne, Vaud, and Geneva. The office of this Association is at Neuchâtel; regular weekly meetings are held, and a lithographed circular is published monthly and sent to each lady of the society. These ladies endeavour to form duly constituted Local Committees in the towns where they dwell. This has already been done at Neuchâtel, Chaux-de-Fonds, Locle, Berne, and Lausanne. Geneva will follow shortly. In addition to the Institution at Chaux-de-Fonds, similar asylums, with some differences, have been opened at Lausanne and Berne, and are in course of preparation at Bienne, Geneva, Vevey, and Neuchâtel.

"VII. October. (1.) Delegation of M. Frédéric Auguste Rollier, Pastor of St. Aubin and Professor of Theology at the Academy of Neuchâtel, as representative of the Federation at the Seventeenth General Congress of the Inner Mission of Germany, assembled at Dresden 3rd to 7th October, 1875.

"After an interchange of the necessary preparatory correspondence with the Committees of the Mission and of the Congress, M. Aimé Humbert delivered to M. Rollier the following credentials, in the name of the Federation:—

"(a) To M. Isaac Dorner, Doctor of Theology, Professor of the University of Berlin, President of the Central Committee of the Mission and Congress.

"(b) To M. Bastian, Pastor of Bernburg, the President appointed for the Association of Deaconesses of Neustadt (Dresden), in the special conference on "Refuges."

“(c) To M. Baur, Pastor and Lecturer at the Court and Cathedral of Berlin, delegate on the subject of “Refuges” to the Congress of Dresden.

“In addition a letter of introduction to M. le Baron Maurice d’Ungern Sternberg, of Berlin, on the private recommendation of the Rev. G. Butler, of Liverpool.

“M. Rollier acquitted himself in his mission to Dresden in a manner that gave entire satisfaction. Not only was he warmly welcomed, but he was able to openly announce the principles of the Federation, which are not in entire accordance with those of the Inner Mission.

“The German Code of 1870 proclaimed the abolition of ‘licensed houses,’ and this progress has completely satisfied the moral sense of Germany in general. Yet Germany has not repudiated the regulation of prostitution by the Government, with its attendant registration and *cartes*, or *livrets*, that give an official sanction to vice. Medical examinations and imprisonment by the police still exist in this system as in the French code of female slavery.

“M. Rollier showed that the German Government assumed essentially the same moral responsibility as those whose laws and regulations organize in a more direct manner the haunts of vice. He twice seized the opportunity of demonstrating, in the language of the country and before considerable audiences, the true principles of public morality; firstly, in the First General Assembly of the Congress in the church of Notre Dame, where the reporters of the political newspapers gave a clear and perfect record of his words; and afterwards in the general discussion which followed the conference on ‘Refuges.’ His report, which is not yet completed, will be published *in extenso* in due time and place.

“(2.) The first German edition of “A Voice in the Wilderness” being exhausted, a second edition of 1000 copies was published at half the original price.

"(3.) Among the spontaneous evidences of sympathy which reached the Continental Department after the conferences at Neuchâtel is one which merits especial notice, the more so as it was to some extent due to the influence of our English visitors. It was after passing some days in their society that a gentleman of Geneva, M. Sautter de Blonay, proprietor of the Château de Bonmont at Trélex, in the canton of Vaud, came forward to devote himself to the work of the Federation, and is now one of its most zealous and eloquent exponents. His speciality is the holding of meetings and conferences in the small towns on the borders of Lake Lemman, but he has already entered on a wider field, and the Continental Representative finds in him an extremely valuable helper. Mention must also be made of Dr. Paul Louis Ladame, a young and learned medical practitioner at Locle, who seems destined to render signal service to our work.

"(4.) Visit to Lausanne on the occasion of the academical examinations with which M. Humbert was charged by the Government of the canton of Vaud. Consultations with M. Duplan, Procureur Général, member of the General Council of the Federation, M. Sautter de Blonay, and several influential citizens of the canton of Vaud. This canton is menaced with the French system of a "*Police des mœurs*," which the Government would place in the hands of the municipal authorities as in Belgium and at Zurich. This is at present but a proposal, and cannot be carried into effect before a year from hence, on the occasion of the revision of the *Code pénal*. The proposal would be to insert in the Code a proviso that the penalties against prostitution be only applicable to prostitutes who have failed to subject themselves to these municipal regulations. The whole proposal is a combination of cowardice and injustice. It was resolved :—

“(a) That steps be taken to procure the election of a committee by an assembly of the citizens of the chief town after a public discussion in the Town Hall, as at Chaux-de-Fonds. In our Swiss republic local committees have no solid basis or moral influence unless they are the result of a public election.

“(b) That this assembly be convoked for the third week in December, being the time when the Grand Cantonal Council will be in session at the chief town. The interval will be applied to the finding and grouping of helpers in the work. The Association of Public Utility of the canton of Vaud has declared in our favour.

“VIII. November. (1.) Neuchâtel. The electoral process just spoken of in regard to Lausanne has been effected at Neuchâtel in an assembly of citizens of this town, which took place on Nov. 4th, in the large hall of the General Council of the Municipality, M. Nagel, Pastor, being in the chair. At the end of an interesting discussion, which lasted from 7.30 to 10 p.m., and in which M. Aimé Humbert and Dr. Ladame took part, as also did several clergymen of the National, Independent, and German Churches, magistrates of the judiciary order, and manufacturers, a committee of nine members was elected by ballot, at their head being the six former members of the provisional committee formed at the time of Mrs. Butler's visit.

“(2.) First visit to Geneva, Nov. 11th to 14th. The Genevese ladies of the Inter-cantonal Committee, availing themselves of the circumstance that Aimé Humbert was appointed by the Genevese Government to hold conferences at the University, on public education, invited him to preside at a meeting of ladies on Nov. 12th at 3 p.m., in the smaller Hall of the Reformation. The meeting was composed of about 200 women, of all ranks of society. The proceedings were opened by M. Frank Coulin, Pastor of the National Church ; M. Aimé Hum-

bert explained the past and prospective work of the Federation, and showed what might be done by either sex to further its objects; and Père Hyacinthe spoke on the question from the religious and moral point of view. M. Sautter de Blonay added some interesting deductions from facts, statistics, and public hygiene; and the meeting was brought to a close with an exhortation and prayer by M. Thomas, Pastor of the Oratoire, and Professor of the School of Theology of the Free Church.

"This Conference, which was an entirely unexpected event, caused considerable excitement, and at once popularised the work of the Federation in all quarters of the town.

"(3.) Four days later, on the 6th Nov., M. Th. Borel, Pastor, and President of the Refuge, held at the Casino a conference exclusively for men, which was convoked by advertisement, and brought together a very large audience.

"There is every indication that a powerful effect was produced; among the evidences of sympathy received by M. Borel being a letter from the Society of Free-thinkers, of Geneva.

"(4.) Missions of M. Borel. This brave veteran of the holy cause of public morality being disposed to employ himself in the work of the Federation without prejudice to his labours at the Refuge, the Neuchâtel committee formally requested him to repeat in their town his conference at Geneva, and it is probable that the committee at Chaux-de-Fonds will do the same.

"But it is especially to be desired that his services might be utilized for a campaign at Lyons, Marseilles, Nismes, and Montpellier, where he has much influence. This would form the opening of a campaign in the south of France, which M. Sautter de Blonay also proposes to visit early in the coming year.

"(5.) Basle, Alsace, and Lorraine. Here also M. Borel

has friends connected with his work at the Refuge, and he will lay our cause before them. M. Humbert further availed himself of the proffered services of M. Stockmeyer, Pastor of the German Evangelical Church, residing near Neuchâtel, who was about to visit Basle and Montbeliard on other business, and volunteered to do all he could in the interests of the Federation during his stay.

“(6.) Second visit of M. Humbert to Geneva, Nov. 18th to 21st. After frequent discussions with influential citizens of this place, it was agreed that the time for open and decided action had arrived, and M. Borel undertook to advertise a public meeting at the Casino, for Tuesday, December 7th. M. Humbert and M. Sautter de Blonay will be present. Our opponents will be duly invited to speak, and after discussion we shall proceed to the election of a fixed committee.

“Such is our position at the end of the month of November, eight months after the inauguration of the Continental department; but there are further matters appertaining to Geneva which I shall have to propose to the Executive Committee, and to which I shall beg to call their special attention.

“In concluding this report I have to announce a continually increasing mass of business. The agitation is spreading from place to place, and correspondence is no longer sufficient for the many demands. It will be absolutely necessary to start a special journal. The material side of this enterprise is already provided for. We have a thousand guaranteed subscribers, so that in any event the new publication will defray its own costs of printing and postage. It remains only to furnish the printer with the text of the first number. I shall do my best that it may appear before the end of the year. From another side, if I could comply with all the requests addressed to me, I should need to be not only at Geneva on the 7th Dec., but at Lausanne on the 13th and 14th,

both for a sitting of the preliminary committee and for a public meeting; then at Berne on the 16th, to hold a conference during the session of the Federal Chambers, and afterwards at Zurich, etc., etc.

"Further, there is urgent need to resume and to continue without interruption the movements already initiated at Paris, at Berlin, and at Brussels.

"And yet Mrs. Butler's pamphlet bore no false title. At its appearance there was no exaggeration in calling it on the Continent, "A Voice in the Wilderness." Never since the days of John the Baptist was an appeal to the human conscience uttered in a more profound isolation!

CONCLUSION OF REPORT.

"We are as yet but at the beginning of our labours. The day must dawn when they shall embrace the whole of Europe.

"There are in the present movement two things, connected, yet distinct; the special and the general question.

"To the first category belong:—

"In England, the repeal of the Acts of 1866-69, which legalize prostitution.

"In the canton of Neuchâtel, the abolition of the arbitrary licensing system assumed by the Government, contrary to the laws.

"In the canton of Geneva, the abolition of the traditional governmental licensing system and regulations.

"In the canton of Zurich, the repeal of the law which institutes municipal licensing, etc.

"But above all this rises the general, the humanitarian question, of the abolition of female slavery, and the elevation of public morality among men. This is the task that our age has to accomplish.

"All the countries of Europe and of America are interested in this struggle; in it is involved our Christian

civilization and its future throughout the whole of the world.

"And these truths must be proclaimed and made public everywhere, even in those countries where there is happily no need to change the existing legislation."

"Our League must raise a universal banner. Each member must aid in our work, however little it may seem to concern his own land.

"We must create an ever wider interest in the objects and development of the Federation. That Federation being international, must have its field-days, its international contests and battles.

"Such an occasion is offered in the year 1877, and on the most central, the most favourable, the most cosmopolitan field of battle,—in the city of Calvin and of Rousseau, in the town from whence issued the international convention and ambulance corps of the "Croix Rouge," on this Helvetian soil which has just given to the light the Universal Postal Union.

"The International Congress of Medical Science, that Association which carries so much weight in the governmental decisions relative to public hygiene that, for example, all Governments eagerly gave the force of law to the measures which it recommended for repelling Asiatic cholera; that society which draws by thousands to its *séances*, doctors, physiologists, and naturalists from both hemispheres, will hold at Geneva, in 1877, its fourth biennial general assembly; the first of these took place at Paris, the second at Vienna, the third at Brussels, the fourth being convoked for Geneva.

"The Federation should seize this occasion to engage the Congress in the question of prostitution, and to cause it to figure officially in the programme for 1877. It must not be left to be proposed spontaneously by the committee of the Congress, for Governments would construe such an announcement into a premonitory indication that

some reinforcement of the organization of prostitution was needed. It is most important, therefore, that the initiative be taken by the British National Medical Association, which demands the abolition of legalized prostitution, in order that Governments may know beforehand that the abolitionist tendency is strong enough to dare to affirm itself before the whole world in 1877, and to hope to close this great century by a progress that shall be a worthy crowning of the edifice.

“The step proposed being adopted, we shall follow it up by an earnest and ardent appeal to all scientific men who sympathise with our cause ; we shall entreat them to prepare for the great struggle ; we shall aid them to lend their presence ; we shall call them together from the north and from the south, from the east and from the west, of all languages and of all nations, that there may be heard in the Congress one true protest of the human family.

“In order to secure this, our Federation should hold its session at the same time and in the same place ; the FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE BRITISH, CONTINENTAL, AND GENERAL FEDERATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION should assemble at Geneva in 1877, immediately after the Medical Congress ; so that if our cause gain a victory among the representatives of science, we may be there to gather together and formulate the results of our triumph ; or that if a majority of the Medical Congress declare against the work of the Federation, we may be there to give a refutation to their errors on the very morrow of their proclamation, and to at once weaken their deleterious influence on public opinion. In the one case as in the other we shall have a fitting occasion for issuing a manifesto which shall definitively place our League in its true light before the entire world. Conquerors or conquered, we shall have a greater position,

and our strength will be multiplied a hundredfold for the struggles that may still await us in our respective States.

"The three principal points of my proposition may be summed up in begging the Executive Committee of the Federation to direct:—

"1. That the necessary steps be taken by the British Medical Association for Repeal, with regard to the International Committee of the Congress of Medical Science at Geneva, to ensure that the question of legalized prostitution be included in the programme of the Congress of 1877.*

"2. That in the event of an affirmative response, the British Medical Association for Repeal do secure that its principles be clearly formulated and worthily represented at the said Congress.

"3. That in any case the First International Congress of the British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, be held at Geneva in 1877, immediately after the said Medical Congress.

"(Signed) AIMÉ HUMBERT."

In concluding the present chapter of the history of the movement in Switzerland, we give the following clear and beautiful statement of the aims of the Federation, issued from the office of the Continental Commissariat in November:—

"The programme of the Federation may be summed up as follows:—

"(a) *From the Political point of view,*
The State may not, under any pretext, tolerate vice, much less may it compound with it, as it does in giving to prostitution any organization, whether direct or indirect. The State, as representing justice, may not itself favour

* All the steps here indicated have been taken.

or support moral wrong. The power and rule of the State may only be exercised for true good.

(b) *From the Moral point of view,*

In presence of the constantly menacing scourge of prostitution in Europe, it is not sufficient to work only for the abolition of the laws, regulations, and institutions which tend to give an official organization or sanction to vice ; we must further form a vast league to act by moral force on public opinion. We must strive for the elevation of the standard of morality among *men* ; we must combat all the baneful influences at present existing in manners, in fashions, in art, and in literature, notably in some novels and in the drama ; we must fight against the prejudices and conventions of the world in things which concern morality ; and we must endeavour to exercise the same regenerative influence in home education and in public instruction.

“(c) *From the point of view of Benevolence,*

The Federation will interest itself in favour of “Refuges,” generally so called, and will eagerly strive to help all institutions which exercise a *preventive* action, by opening and supporting asylums for young girls without situations, or work, or protection, and lodgings for work-women without family or friends. On the same principle, the Federation will also give its earnest attention to the question of industries adapted for young girls, and to the raising of women’s wages, as also to all that can contribute to the security of the family, and to the ensuring of just conditions of existence for the poorer classes, who are now deprived of them.

“The Federation is independent of any political party, any school of philosophy, any religious creed. It leaves to all of its members full liberty to express themselves according to their own convictions, and it invites all who desire to help in its work to band themselves together in

one common action in the name of the elementary principles of natural justice and humanity.

"In England and Switzerland the Federation has received an essential impulse from religious feeling, which also is breathed in its principal publications, especially those of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, '*Sursum Corda*,' '*Une voix dans le Désert*,' etc. The Federation is therefore happy to be able to stretch out the hand of fellowship to the religious associations already constituted, and above all to those which can point to a long and faithful career in good works.

"But the Federation will be none the less eager to co-operate with societies or groups of earnest-minded persons who may treat the question of the elevation of public morality, and the abolition of legalized prostitution, as a purely humanitarian work. The Federation will formally repudiate those sects alone that are hostile to the fundamental principles on which society is based.

"With regard to associations with which the Federation may find itself united by even the closest sympathies, it is doubtless possible that differences of opinion may arise on various points in the application of the principles of the Federation. But we do not doubt that time and experience will bring about an ever closer approximation; and the Federation will avoid as far as possible any dispute which might threaten to sow discord between itself and its allies. It is only especially to be desired that the allied workers may become more and more impressed with the necessity imposed on their conscience of making front against the common enemy, of attacking it in the first place in the privileged fortresses of vice, and of breaking through the network of evil ordinances which modern materialism is seeking to spread from town to town and from country to country, in obedience to the suggestions of presumptuous and pretentious quasi-scientific Congresses.

“ But we shall not depart from charity even towards our adversaries. Our crusade is neither against men nor against governments, but solely against doctrines and institutions that we regard as anti-social or anti-christian, which in our eyes are one and the same thing.

“ Love will therefore be the special bond of all the members, friends, and allies of our association, desirous as they are of following in the footsteps of Him who came to seek and to save that which was lost.”



CHAPTER VII.

“ Lift up your eyes and look on the fields ; for they are white already to harvest.”

T now only remains briefly to record the occasional conflicts arising through the assertion of our principles in the Colonies and in America ; to report the latest intelligence received from European countries ; and, finally, to commend to all the friends of our cause the claims of this great movement to their deepened sympathy and increased support.

To the subject of the Colonies we shall make only a brief allusion. It will be remembered how at an early period of our agitation it was discovered that the system of regulation had been introduced, through the pressure of official influence, into every or nearly every colony of the British Empire. The strong protest issued by Bishop Alford, late Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong,* is familiar to

* It is worthy of remark that the Colonial Bishops who have been brought into contact, while abroad, with the system of legalized prostitution, have invariably spoken or written strongly against it. A long and powerful letter against the system was written in 1871, by Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, and Metropolitan of Southern Africa. This was largely circulated in England. Dr. Cotterill, of the Scottish Episcopal Church, late Bishop of Graham's Town, and now Bishop of Edinburgh, has emphatically condemned the system both in writing and speaking, and Bishop Ryan, formerly Bishop of the Mauritius, and now vicar of Bradford, has never failed to raise his voice against it. Many other instances might be cited of Church dignitaries residing in the Colonies and cognizant of the working of the system, who have raised their voices in stern condemnation of England's action in forcing this hideous law upon her Dependencies.

many, and has already conveyed a picture of the completeness of the licensing system there adopted. Our friends well know the prolonged conflict maintained in the Parliament of Cape Colony, resulting in the total abolition of the immoral system in that Colony. The chief promoter of its repeal, Mr. Saul Solomons, M.P., is now a member of the General Council of the Federation. The events which have taken place in India, and more particularly in Bombay, are familiar to our friends, and have been recorded from time to time in the *Shield*. It may be well, however, to call especial attention to three letters from natives of India. The first of these was received so far back as 1870, from Dadoba Pandurung, Fellow of the Bombay University, and Justice of the Peace for the town and island of Bombay, and expresses great joy at the formation of the Repeal societies in England. This magistrate says: "Whatever may be the effects of such an unjust and injurious law in a country like England, where official acts of tyranny and oppression are perhaps rare, the effects of its introduction into a country like India, where the last executive powers rest generally with men picked from the lowest strata of society, can more easily be conceived than described." The weighty character of this letter, and the grave facts adduced in it, render it well worthy of re-perusal; it will be found in the *Shield* of August 8th, 1870. The second letter to which we refer was from Narayun Jugunath, Educational Inspector at Kurrachee, who wrote, in November, 1871, describing the horrible effects of this system in India. The third letter, from the well-known Keshub Chunder Sen, in answer to a request to him to become a member of the Council of the Federation, we give *in extenso*:—

"Colotola, Calcutta, 31st August, 1875.

"DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your kind letter, and the honour you have done me by nominating me as a member of

the General Council of the new Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution. It gives me great pleasure to learn that an agency under such influential leadership, and on so extended a scale, has been organised to deliver society from the terrible effects of a vicious enactment; and there is matter for special congratulation for me in the fact that it includes India in the scope of its operations. The evil against which you have entered upon a holy crusade prevails to a fearful extent in this country also, and does its mischievous work here as elsewhere. To England we owe numerous political blessings, for which our country is truly thankful to Providence; but, alas! these blessings are sometimes accompanied by evils which nothing but enlightened public opinion, such as the Federation and other similar societies can alone bring about, will succeed in eventually rooting out from our country. Most gladly do I join your movement, and wish it God-speed.

“ I remain, dear Sir, yours very truly,

“ KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.”

The *South Australian Register* of Sept. 9th, 1875, contained a detailed report of a debate in the South Australian House of Assembly, on a motion for leave to introduce a Bill adopting the system of Regulation in that Colony. The debate was full of interest. A division has doubtless taken place on the second reading of the Bill. A most ardent opponent of this Bill was Mr. Rowland Rees, M.P., son of our zealous co-worker Alderman Rees, of Dover. The Hon. H. Parkes, formerly for three years Prime Minister in the Colony, is also an earnest opponent of the measure.

In Canada, attempts are being made to introduce the Regulation system, and, together with these attempts, an opposition is also arising. An application for advice and co-operation has been received by the Honorary Secretaries of the Federation from friends of the cause in Montreal. The population of Canada consists largely of a French element, hence the publications issued in

French from the office of the Continental Commissariat have been found very useful there.

A much larger conflict, however, so far as the Anglo-Saxon race is concerned, than any yet mentioned, opens up in the United States of America. Our fellow-workers are aware that the Regulation system having been introduced into the city of St. Louis, a stand was made against it by some persons in that city, the most prominent among whom was the Rev. Dr. Eliot, President of the Washington University, and one of the most respected inhabitants of St. Louis, where he settled as a minister about forty years ago. The following letter was addressed to the Rev. R. L. Carpenter by Dr. Eliot in August, 1873:—

“St. Louis, August 30th, 1873.

“MY DEAR SIR,—You may remember that, more than two years ago, I obtained from you some documents on the subject of your crusade in England, for use in a like conflict here. After two years of earnest effort, the public mind having been partially educated up to the point of safe legal resistance, I made trial in the courts, this month, of the constitutionality of licensing and regulating prostitution, by bringing action against two registered women. The result is the enclosed decision, which, as coming from a ‘Court of Criminal Correction,’ one grade above Police Courts, is very remarkable. I have no doubt that the Superior Courts will confirm this decision; and if so, we shall have beaten the Social Evil Law for Missouri.

“I remain, yours truly,

“W. G. ELIOT.”

The decision here referred to was pronounced by Judge Colvin in a very remarkable judgment, in which he held that the constitution of the United States was violated by any enactment of an ordinance for the regulation of prostitution. It is probably generally known that no law can receive force in the United States if it can be shown to be at variance with the fundamental princi-

ples of the Constitution, and that, even if enacted by the highest legislative authority, it can be brought to that test. The result of the action of the citizens of St. Louis was the abolition of the Regulation system in that town. But we learn, from a letter lately received from Dr. Eliot, that (to use his own words) "some bungling legislation was adopted immediately after the repeal of the ordinance, by which Regulation in a modified form was again made possible. In the year 1874, however, an attempt on a much larger scale was made by the introduction into the United States House of Representatives at Washington, on the 18th of March of that year, of a Bill "to provide for the decrease of a social evil, and for the better government of cities in relation to houses of ill fame." This bill adopts the full licensing system, accompanied by a tax to be levied weekly on the inmates and keepers of licensed houses. It was introduced and advocated by the Hon. A. L. Cressler, in a speech which, together with a copy of the Bill, has been widely circulated in the States, with a view of gaining adherents to the system. The character of the position taken up by the advocates of Regulation in America may be gathered from the opinion expressed by Mr. Cressler, that when once the objections to the system have passed away, "a new law will disclose itself in the dim future, *converting a heretofore baneful class of society into a real blessing.*" The Bill seems never to have come to a second reading, but its re-introduction has been announced.

One of the earliest organized efforts in opposition to this proposed Bill was that of the Moral Education Society of Philadelphia, established in 1872. The following quotation is from the annual report of that Society, dated October, 1875. Referring to their action for that year, the report says:—

"The first efforts of our members were directed against

Dr. Cressler's 'Social Evil Bill,' brought before the Legislature of this State, and designed to license prostitution throughout our Commonwealth. A full account of this work was published in our last year's report. As a fear was entertained that the effort to pass this Bill might be renewed, part of last winter's work was directed to prevent such a calamity. A large number of signatures to petitions were obtained throughout the State; correspondence was held with members of the Legislature, who promised to act with us in the best interests of morality. A committee waited upon Judge Pierce to learn if a prohibitory Bill could be drawn up, as in Illinois, to prevent legislation in this direction; he deemed such a measure unadvisable until further action of the Legislature. This, with faith in the vigilance of our friends at Harrisburg, induced us to lay aside this branch of labour early last winter.

"One thousand copies of Dr. Cressler's Bill, with a heading attached, calling the attention of the public to the unjust and degrading effects of the same, were printed and circulated by a lady in sympathy with our work. The *Shield*, a paper published in London in the interest of the reform movement being carried on in England against the licensing of vice, was brought to the Society, and very edifying extracts read from it. An account of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler's labours in France, Italy, and Switzerland against the laws regulating 'The Social Evil,' and the recital of the enthusiastic support and sympathy which she received from those high in authority and intelligence in those countries, was especially inspiring, and encouraged us to go on, if slowly, yet unfalteringly, in our work, endeavouring to raise the standard of morality and make it equal for both sexes, as it certainly is before God."

At a forthcoming International Medical Congress, to be held in Philadelphia during the present year, the subject is announced as a part of the programme for discussion under the presidency of Dr. Gross, who, in a letter read in the Debate above referred to, says, "I am strongly in favour of licensing prostitution;" and there is reason to expect that some proposal will be made during

this centennial year of American independence, to introduce on a large scale throughout the whole of the States this new form of legalized slavery. Opposition is, however, arising, and already there appear on the list of the Council of the British, Continental, and General Federation for opposing legalized prostitution, the well-known and honoured names of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, the Hon. Samuel Sewall, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, and others.

It is worthy of note that, from the beginning, the abolitionist movement in England has received the warmest support and encouragement from the chief representatives in America of the great humanitarian and anti-slavery contests of the last half century. William Lloyd Garrison addressed a letter to the *New York Tribune* so early as the summer of 1871, in which, after describing the legislation which we oppose, he wrote as follows :—"National and local societies are working for the abrogation of these laws with a zeal and determination paralleled only by the agitation for the abolition of British Colonial Slavery and the Repeal of the Corn Laws ; the women of the land still keeping the lead, even as they took the initiative in the former righteous movement under a heavy load of ridicule and defamation. To quote the testimony of Dr. Guthrie, of Scotland :—"At first it was only whispered about as if it were a secret not to be spoken of, but in time the matter was faced ; and since the days when the women of Jerusalem stood by their Lord when all men had forsaken Him and fled, women have never crowned themselves with such honour as the women of this country have done in working for the Repeal of these Acts, despite the frown of the world.'" "To these women," continues William Lloyd Garrison, "I desire thus publicly to pay my homage, regretting that I can find no words adequately to express my admiration of the moral courage they have displayed, the

intellectual and moral force they have brought into the field, the masterly ability with which they have conducted the argument, the noble dignity of character which they have exemplified under the vilest provocation, and the exalted purity of the sentiments to which they have given utterance. They have helped to make the present age illustrious, and deserve the plaudits of mankind. Had they been represented in the British Parliament, no such infamous Acts could have been proposed or passed. In all lands too long have women been under masculine control, as clay in the hands of the potter, stripped of their inalienable rights, treated as inferiors in every department of life, and subjected to much legal injustice." He concludes his letter by saying, "It is the irrevocable determination of these abolitionists to accept no compromise whatever, and the Government is admonished that the agitation, already so formidable, is a fast rising tide which will continue to swell until the entire system of regulated prostitution is swept away, and national law shall speak the language dictated by national conscience." The perusal of the present pages will have shown to some extent the realization of the prediction contained in this letter as to the "fast rising tide" which is now sapping the foundations of the evil system over so wide an area.

These words, and the attitude towards our cause maintained by the great anti-slavery leaders in America, have been to many of our workers a source of strength and encouragement throughout the years of toil which they have had to undergo, and in nothing more so than in that constant war which they have had to wage, and which no doubt still awaits them, against offered compromises. The analogy between the old abolitionist struggle in America and our own, appears perhaps in nothing more strikingly than in the attitude taken up by both against compromise. A confident assertion was made by the opponents of the abolitionists in America,

that the agitation against slavery would die out, and a compromise was not unfrequently urged with the view of producing this result. The following words pronounced by Abraham Lincoln are singularly applicable to our own position :—"We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated by our opponents with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, this agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. The antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results. . . . They who think that the agitation is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested fanatics, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces. It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromise between the slave and free states ; and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such proposed compromises vain and ephemeral."

FRANCE.—In France the operations of those who support our principles are fettered, like those of many other reformers in that country, by the absence of any freedom of public meeting or of the press. France, though now a Republic, has hitherto been in such matters too much governed by the principles which held sway under the Empire. It is difficult for anyone accustomed to the freedom of England to realize that in France, even under a Republic, it is not possible to found openly any association which does not meet with the approval of the Executive Government. An example has lately occurred which affords an illustration of this, and of the arbitrary character of the dealings of Government officials

in such matters. A small society had been formed a short time ago in Paris "for the improvement of the condition of women," whose objects were to obtain better education, a larger field of industry, and better wages for women, and "to seek out, in order to combat, the principal causes of prostitution." M. Buffet, the late Minister of the Interior, suppressed this Association without assigning any reason for his action, nor have the members of the Association been able to obtain any explanation from the officials. This is merely an illustration of the difficulty of organizing in France even for a purpose entirely moral and non-political. And as the action of our Associations involves at least an inquiry into police regulations, which are most jealously guarded in France, it will be evident that the progress of our principles there must necessarily be slow. There is, therefore, but little yet to report as positively achieved in France; but it is certain that the troubling of the consciences of many has begun there, judging from unmistakeable signs which have reached us.

Some of the most earnest advocates of the system of Regulation have already published their protests against the interference, in Paris, of the advocates of abolition. Dr. Jeannel has published, in the form of a pamphlet, an essay which first appeared a few months ago in the *Annales d'Hygiène et de Médecine Légale*. The essay consists mainly of an attack upon the Ladies' National Association of England, and in particular upon Mrs. Butler, together with a reply to Mr. Collingwood, whose criticism of Dr. Jeannel's projects for an international organization of prostitution is quoted in the first pages of this narrative. This doctor is astonished at the audacity of non-medical men, and still more of women, in interfering in questions "up to the present time relegated to the exclusive judgment of administrators and doctors;" and, becoming prophetic, he exclaims:—

"Their interference in this matter produces in France an indescribable astonishment, and their attempt at propagandism among the women of France is doomed to the failure which must attend a colossal eccentricity." The astonishment and perturbation of the most distinguished advocates of Regulation in France affords scarcely a less hopeful indication of the approaching purifying conflict of principles than is presented by the steady organizing of the abolitionist forces in other lands.

A small committee was formed in Paris soon after Mrs. Butler's visit there, and one of the duties with which this committee charged itself has been the circulation of the *Voix dans le Désert*. In the month of June this committee, having been challenged by M. Mettetal, the ex-prefect of the police of morals, to discuss the question, accepted that challenge, and learned through this encounter something of the strength and determination of the opposition which they would have to meet. The *Shield* referring to this meeting, wrote as follows:—"The challenger was none other than M. Mettetal, who was for many years M. LeCour's predecessor at the Prefecture of the 'Bureau of Morals,' the man to whom the English medical men and aristocratic officials applied many years ago for information as to the Paris system, and from whom they drew the unhappy inspiration which resulted in the underhand and vicious legislation which the English association seeks to overthrow. This meeting took place in the house of M. Alfred André, M.P. M. Mettetal appears to have been surprised and discomfited by this unexpected opposition arising in the heart of the city which is the mother and nurse of this foul offspring. Some of those who opposed him spoke with a noble indignation against the immoral principle of the Paris system, and its imitators all over the world." M. Appia wrote that our friends "left the meeting satisfied that the truth had gained ground, and that God

had not left them unsupported." Drs. G. Monod and M. Morin, both medical men, opposed the arguments of M. Mettetal, and M. Appia spoke at some length, reading also an admirable letter received that day from M. Aimé Humbert, in which, after arguing the question, he remarked, "Nothing convinces me more that Italy is destined to take the lead among nations, than the response which that country has made to the cry of distress of women, expressed by Mrs. Butler."

A mission has been undertaken to Lyons, and various conferences and meetings have been arranged by several of the leading citizens, who have for a long time been desiring a visit from a delegate of the Federation. M. Arlès Dufour, one of the leading citizens of Lyons, has expressed his sympathy with our principles.

The convictions expressed in the following letter addressed by M. Ed. de Préssensé to the Right Honourable James Stansfeld present a striking contrast to the opinions of Dr. Jeannel just quoted ; and the two utterances taken together may serve to indicate the intensity of the approaching conflict in France between the antagonistic principles arrayed on either side :—

"Paris, August 12th, 1875.

"SIR,—All my sympathies are enlisted in advance on behalf of the excellent work undertaken by your Association. It conduces to the support of public opinion against a detestable legalisation of the most shameful of our social evils, which has for its effect an ignominious slavery of the unhappy creatures who are even more the victims than the accomplices of prostitution. Being a member of the Committee of the National Assembly which was charged with the revision of the penitentiary laws, I visited in this capacity the prison of St. Lazare, which is the very stronghold of the legislation which you oppose, and the most frightful centre of

moral corruption. We are firmly resolved not to leave one stone of it standing. The very day before that on which I received your esteemed letter, we were holding a preparatory meeting in Paris to lay the foundation of a committee which should associate itself with your work, and I was charged to communicate to you and to Mr. Butler in its name all our sympathy, and our sincere wish to pass on from deliberation to action; for we are convinced that what is at present done with the professed aim of restraining the tide of prostitution in Paris, tends only to render it the more irresistible. The regulation of prostitution does not diminish it any more than governmental roulette-tables diminish gambling; not to speak of the frightful responsibility which is assumed by a Government which sullies the law by such an application of it. In response, sir, to the proposal, so honourable to myself, which you are so good as to make me, that I should form one of the International Council who are at the head of this holy crusade, altogether humane and Christian as it is, I cannot reply otherwise than affirmatively; accept, therefore, my adhesion, and kindly express my thanks to the Council.

“E. DE PRÉSSENSÉ,
“Deputy for the Department of the Seine.”

Mention was made in an earlier part of this narrative of Dr. Desprès, well known as for many years physician to the great hospital of the Lourcine. He wrote in February, 1875, a valuable letter to the secretaries of the Federation on the medical aspect of the question, which will be found in the *Medical Enquirer** of the 15th of March in the same year, in which he opposes the Regulation system from the purely hygienic point of view, as

* *Medical Enquirer*, published at 53, North John Street, Liverpool, and by Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, London.

tending to increase all the evils which it is its professed object to diminish.

ALSACE.—Pastor Borel laboured hard here in the good cause during part of the autumn. After preaching in the Temple at Mulhouse, an industrial town, where there are many *Maisons de Tolérance*, and taking the opportunity of announcing that a meeting of ladies would be held on the 28th of November at the house of one of the pastors there, M. Borel held a conference of ladies and gentlemen in the French "Temple," at Strasburg, on the duty of using every endeavour to save the fallen. This was on the 25th, and on the 26th he convened a meeting of men only, in the same place, on the subject of the State organization of vice. The meeting was previously advertised, and M. Borel declared himself ready to answer all objections; but although there was a large attendance, and medical men and German officers were present, no objections were raised, and the audience were extremely serious and attentive. M. Borel learned that the licensed houses there receive children of fourteen years of age. On the 27th, M. Borel held a meeting of ladies in the French Chapel at Colmar, and another on the 28th at Mulhouse.

ITALY.—In Italy the cause continues rapidly to progress. On the 14th of December a short debate took place in the Italian Parliament, on the occasion of Signor Bertani's question addressed to the Minister of the Interior, as to the date of the introduction of the projected new Sanitary Code. It is upon certain clauses of this new code that the question of the abolition of the regulations is to be raised by our friends in the Italian Parliament. Signor Vollaro proceeded to question the Minister of the Interior as to the meaning of certain items in the navy estimates for the working of a portion of the system of Regulation. The Minister of the In-

terior appears to have been embarrassed in his replies, and, amidst murmurs from the Left, said :—"It is an old custom to render no account of these expenses either to the Parliament or to the Court of Accounts. The nature of the expenses and also of the receipts is such that I believe the State would gain nothing by submitting this branch of the administration to public investigation." Speaking again, he added, "I should have no difficulty in submitting these expenses and profits to all the rules of investigation, if the nature of the service were not such as it is; but I repeat that I believe this procedure would bring no benefit to the State." The vote was passed and the question postponed, to be raised again during a future Session of the Italian Parliament.

Among the many able and beautiful articles which are continually appearing in the various Italian newspapers from the pens of Italian ladies, that of Georgina Saffi, addressed "To the Youth of Italy," too long to quote here, deserves special notice.

SWITZERLAND AND GERMANY.—In Switzerland within the last few months several important events have occurred in connexion with our crusade. In the first place the *Continental Bulletin*,* the organ of the work of the Federation, has been started, and has already a sufficient number of subscribers to be self-supporting. Several important meetings have been held, which will be best reported in M. Humbert's letters, which fill up the out-

* This journal is intended to form a medium of correspondence between the various continental Associations belonging to the Federation. Communications should be addressed to M. Aimé Humbert, and subscriptions forwarded (in advance) to M. Jules Sandoz, Neuchâtel, or to the Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, 33, Rue de Seine, Paris. Members of the Federation who have paid their annual subscription (fixed for the present year at 3 francs) will be entitled to receive one copy of the journal during this year without further charge. To non-members the cost for England (post free) will be 8 francs per annum paid in advance.

line given in his excellent report, cited in a former part of this narrative:—

Neuchâtel, 23rd Nov., 1875.

“LAUSANNE.—From the 27th October to the 1st November, I paid two visits to this town, occupied in my official mission, and in organising an association of men as a branch of the Federation. The Society of Public Utility of the Canton of Vaud has declared in our favour, and placed its journal at our disposal. I have had frequent interviews with M. Duplan, the Attorney-General, who has placed me in communication with Dr. Recordon, chief of the sanitary police of the cantonal town. The revision of the penal code of Vaud having been decided upon, a certain number of deputies are seeking to profit by this circumstance in order to introduce into their country the system of legal toleration. Their project would be that the State should give up the department of morals to the municipalities, and that those provisions of the code which refer to prostitution should not be applicable to the prostitutes subjected to municipal regulations. You observe that the school of Mireur threatens to take root in Switzerland, but I hope we shall be able to prevent it. The work of revision will not be completed for a year, and there is every reason to believe that in this interval we shall win public opinion to our side. In a fortnight we hope to convoke a general meeting at the Town Hall, at Lausanne, and then to elect our committee. Since my departure, M. Sautter has taken in hand the preliminary arrangements.

“VEVEY.—M. Sautter will deliver during the present week an address in this town. I passed the whole of the 31st October there, and found much earnestness among the ladies. They have a special aim in view: a new hospital having been built, they propose purchasing the old one, called the Samaritan, and establishing in it a complete home for women and young girls. Madame Monnet is the soul of this great undertaking, which also depends largely upon Madame Couvren.

“NEUCHÂTEL.—On the 4th November, at eight in the evening, a meeting of men took place at the Town Hall, for which the

Temporary Committee had sent out 300 invitations amongst all classes of society of the cantonal town. About 100 persons accepted the invitation. Some excused themselves by letters, which were read at the opening of the meeting. Pastor Nagel presided. There was no direct opposition, but only requests for explanation, etc. The principal speakers on the side of public morality were, besides the members of the Provisional Committee, MM. Junod, Independent Pastor; Schinz, a young National Pastor, recently returned from Florence; Haeussler, German Pastor; Soguel, Schoolmaster; Humbert-Droz, Inspector of Girls' Schools; Lambelet; Lebet, watch manufacturer; and Ladame, M.D., of Locle. The members of the Provisional Committee were re-elected, namely, MM. Nagel, Pastor; A. Humbert; Michaud, Dr. and Professor of Law; F. de Perregaux; Lardy, Chaplain of the Penitentiary; Du Bois, Pastor and Professor of Theology. To these were added three new members, in order to raise the number of the Committee to nine, namely, MM. Junod, Independent Pastor; Soguel, Schoolmaster; and Russ-Suchard, of the great chocolate manufactory. The new Committee will be constituted on Thursday next. I believe that M. Soguel will be appointed secretary, as I am about to resign that office, although I have allowed myself to be re-elected upon the Committee, because my presence may still be useful in view of the campaign which will shortly open in the Grand Council of Neuchâtel, upon the question of the licensed houses of Chaux-de-Fonds. It is needless to say that the Neuchâtel Committee will unite with that of Chaux-de-Fonds, and the others to be formed from time to time in Switzerland.

“ GENEVA.—First visit from the 11th to the 14th November. Friday the 12th, at the invitation of the ladies of the Intercantonal Committee of Geneva, about 200 women of different classes of society assembled at the smaller Hall of the Reformation. The meeting was opened by prayer from M. Frank Coulin, national pastor, one of the most eloquent preachers of Switzerland. I afterwards sketched the work of the Federation both as regards its past and its aims for the future. Père Hyacinthe then treated the question from the religious and

moral point of view. M. Sautter de Blonay added interesting facts as to statistics and public hygiene. Lastly, M. Thomas, pastor and professor of the Free Church of the Oratory, terminated the proceedings by an address and a prayer. This unexpected and spontaneous event left a very good impression, and rendered the work of the Federation popular throughout the town. It singularly prepared the ground and matured public opinion. A large audience also attended Pastor Borel's address on the 16th November in one of the halls of the Casino. During my second visit to Geneva, from the 18th to the 21st inst., I had frequent conversations with influential citizens. We agreed that the moment for action had arrived, and resolved to convoke a public meeting, by means of the newspapers, for Thursday, the 7th December. Opponents will be invited to come forward, and discussion encouraged. We shall have bonds of union among the working classes. M. Borel has received a letter of sympathy from the Society of Free Thinkers; an indication that the question has already surmounted many prejudices. We have thus, thank God, a plan of campaign very clearly and happily traced.

“BASLE.—As we have not hitherto had relations with this city, I have availed myself of the good offices of M. Stockmayer, a pastor residing at Peseux, near Neuchâtel. He is entrusted by the Free Church at Neuchâtel with a mission of evangelization at Basle and Montbeliard (Department of Doubs). I have sent him a collection of the ‘Voix dans le Désert’ in French and in German; of my own address, of the address of the English clergy, and of the *Shield* and *Medical Enquirer*, with instructions which may be useful to him.

“I send with this a copy of an announcement from the Committee of the ladies at Lausanne, notifying the opening of the Secours, or Home for young girls of this city, and an extract from a report of the 5th November, announcing the formation of a Committee of Ladies at Locle. The President, Madame Esther Richard-Houriet, wife of M. Ferdinand Richard, watch manufacturer, and deputy to the Grand Council, is a very distinguished person, endowed with great energy, combined with strong practical sense.

“In presenting my compliments to Mr. Butler, have the goodness to hand him the *curiosum* enclosed, which does the greatest honour to its authors. It is a copy of the address of the Protestant Churches of Great Britain, which, having reached the little Vaudois parish of Braseus (valley of the Lake of Joux), became the subject of a formal deliberation of the council of the parish at its meeting of the 17th September, 1875, and upon the votes being taken, that body transmitted to me its decision, which you will find upon the document itself. ‘The Council, etc., declares that it gives its entire adhesion to the principles enunciated above.—P. Lenoir, pastor, President; John Golay, Secretary.’ What an example, in its noble simplicity, for all parish authorities throughout the Protestant world to imitate; it deserves to be recorded in the *Shield*. I will forward to these estimable persons a little packet of pamphlets. They procured a large handsome envelope from the library in order to transmit the document to me the more becomingly.

“I cannot sufficiently express to you how much all that happens to us, particularly the opening of Geneva to our League, seems to be marvellously calculated to encourage us, and to fill us with gratitude towards our sovereign and merciful Ruler—to whom be all glory!

“December 9th, 1875.—I hasten to give you an account of my mission at Geneva, whence I returned last evening.

“I.—A meeting of ladies, Tuesday, 7th December, at four o’clock, at the little Hall of the Reformation.—It was opened by Pastor Frank Coulin, who read the address of the ladies of Great Britain. I then read some extracts from the two first circulars of the Intercantonal Committee; the proposed rules for the ‘Home’ at Geneva, drawn out by the Provisional Committee, Mesdames de Gingins, Coulin and Celerier; explained the more recent proceedings in regard to the work of the Federation upon the Continent, and the special aim of the meeting, namely, the election of a definitive Committee. It was decided to limit the number of members of the committee to twelve. About forty ladies took part in the voting. The ladies nominated were:—Madame de Gingins, Madame Poulin,

Madame d'Espine, Mdle. Coulin, Madame Lenoir, Madame Thomas Coulin, Madame Filliol, Madame Hyacinthe Loyson, Madame Tophel, Mdle. Cellerier, Madame Julliard, Madame Edouard Ador.

“II.—Meeting of men at the Casino, at eight o'clock in the evening.—The audience, composed entirely of men, was almost new to me; they consisted for the most part of manufacturers, foremen and workmen, but not those employed in the inferior class of manufactures. It gave me especial pleasure that a very large number of those present were young men of twenty years of age and above. The most perfect silence reigned throughout the hall, and although the meeting lasted until twenty minutes after ten, two persons only left before it closed. The discussion, from beginning to end, was marked by the most perfect courtesy. Pastor Borel opened the meeting by resuming the thread of the address which he had delivered on the 16th November; he then asked me to preside. I opened the discussion by a few words on the work of the Federation, regarded from the social point of view; in the course of which I introduced the letter of the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, which was received with lively marks of approbation and satisfaction. M. Sautter succeeded me, giving a very detailed and well digested account of the fundamental evils of officially protected prostitution, and of the disastrous consequences of this institution. He supported his statements by a great number of quotations from Parent Duchâtelet, Jeannel, Diday, and Mireur; and also by a very energetic letter which I had received from Dr. Ladame. His arguments will be published in the *Bulletin*. The notary Flamert, president of the Consistory of Geneva, gave us an interesting account of his experiences, his conversations with the chiefs of the special police, and expressed his wish for the success of our enterprise, especially in Geneva. The present officials of the Republic (he argued) are animated by the best intentions; they have almost completely suppressed the prostitution which paraded itself with such effrontery upon the bridges and streets; they execute the regulations as to inscription and supervision in such a manner as to save all whom they can, and to register only the hardened; but they

regard our programme as an impracticable dream. We must, nevertheless, combat against all discouragement. What would De Tocqueville have thought if, when writing in his 'Democracy in America' the famous chapter upon that blot upon the great Republic, slavery, he had been told that it would be destroyed in less than a generation? The honour of our country, of our city, and of our families, is interested in the suppression of legalized prostitution. The danger with which we are threatened of the greater dissemination of clandestine prostitution appears to him exaggerated and fantastic; and even supposing there were something to be feared on this score, he does not hesitate to declare that anything would be preferable, to the frightful infection from the agglomerated haunts of vice which exist in the lower parts of the town.

"M. Gosse, M.D., commenced by warmly thanking the initiators of the abolition movement, from which he is hopeful that good may result. He only asks them to propose some measure as a substitute for the licensed houses when they shall be abolished. He is of opinion that the towns where such houses do not exist are more afflicted than Geneva, and thinks it is more immoral to leave prostitution free than to recognise it, and subject it to regulation. Either way, he says, it is impossible to prevent it; an adult woman has the right to dispose of herself, and the right to associate herself with others in the exercise of any industry whatever.

"M. Serment, consulting barrister, combated the theory of the 'necessity of vice,' upon which the institution of legal prostitution ultimately rests. This theory would lead us to re-establish the combats of the circus in all countries where the people are accustomed to delight in the sight of blood. The speaker appealed to legality; the abolitionists—in this matter as in that of the abolition of slavery—are the men of legality. Lincoln did not depart from it for an instant; he demanded that the evil should not be extended to the territories which were not infected by it, and when the Southern States beheld the author of this perfectly legitimate proposition elected to the Presidency, they precipitated themselves blindly into the rebellion. M. Serment cited cases from his practice as an

advocate, which demonstrated the pernicious influence of immoral institutions, even upon the bodies constituted for the administration of justice. The subordinate officials are exposed thereby to temptations very difficult for them to resist. It is known that in Paris, clerks of the bureau of police go the length of seducing women that they may denounce them afterwards, in order to receive the gratuity paid by the bureau.

"M. Sautter positively denied M. Gosse's assertion that the towns in which licensed houses do not exist are more diseased than Geneva, and cited the example of Lausanne.

"M. Gosse replied that the exercise of individual liberty is limited by the liberty of others. No one should be free to convey injury to his neighbour, or those with whom he comes in contact, under pretext of freely using his person or his house.

"At the close of this discussion, M. Borel spoke again ; his discourse served to close the meeting on account of the lateness of the hour. Professor Hornung, M. Moynier, and others, whom I should have gladly heard speak, afterwards came to converse with us at the office, as well as M. Poulin, who handed me a letter from M. Dameth, Professor of Political Economy, excusing himself on account of a domestic matter from attending the meeting, and enunciating the ideas, favourable to our views, which he would have wished to express.

"M. Borel gave last evening, at Chaux-de-Fonds, his address upon public morality ; he will repeat it on Tuesday, the 14th, at Lausanne ; and on Thursday, the 16th, we shall have in that town a public meeting in the great hall of the Communal Council."

Writing a few days later, M. Humbert says :—

"We have again a good day's work to announce. The public meeting at Lausanne, held on the 16th December, at half-past 7 p.m., in the Hotel de Ville, two days after the conference of M. Borel, was attended by a full audience, and concluded at a quarter past ten, creating a profound impression. It was arranged at the preliminary meeting of the committee at 6.45 that M. Duplan, Procureur-Général, should preside.

After a few introductory remarks, he called upon M. Sautter de Blonay, who gave a detailed description, lasting more than an hour, of the programme of the Federation, the purposes of our warfare against legalized prostitution, and the duty of the State, both at present and in the future, with regard to police regulation of that evil. I followed him, and explained to the Vaudois audience the consequences that would result to their canton from the admission of any system whatever of official regulation of prostitution. I showed what had already occurred under this order of things at Chaux-de-Fonds and Zurich, and I made what special applications were suited to that meeting. Finally, M. Duplan closed the meeting with a most earnest address, which was loudly applauded. What opponents there might be in the hall deemed it better to maintain complete silence. There was no need of polling to appoint the committee for Lausanne. It may be said to have been voted by acclamation. It is very well selected:—Messieurs Duplan, Procureur-Général; Sautter de Blonay; Henri Carrard, Professor of Law (formerly President of the Tribunal of Lausanne); Gabriel Gaulis, Justice of the Peace; Buscarlet, pastor of the Scottish Free Church; Chatelanar-Escher, Minister; Philippe de la Harpe, M.D.; Tzant, Professor, and editor of the *Journal of the Society of Public Utility*. There is a ninth member to be nominated, who is to be chosen from the class of foremen of workshops. The enrolment of adhesions will probably be carried out, as at Chaux-de-Fonds, by the publication of an appeal from the Committee to the inhabitants. There were present at the meeting a considerable number of students, and members of the Grand Cantonal Council, from all parts of the country.

It will be remembered that immediately after Mrs. Butler's visit to Chaux-de-Fonds, the ladies of that city established a *Secour* for the rescue of those women who had been betrayed into sin, and also for the protection and training of those young girls whose homeless position and poverty make them an easy prey to the traders in vice, who, on the Continent, have wide-spread organi-

zations for the procuring and selling of young girls. This example has been abundantly followed. The Intercantonal Committee of women, whose central office is at Neuchâtel, have charged themselves specially with this work of a preventive and reformatory character. Madame Humbert and Madame Nagel, Honorary Secretaries of this Intercantonal Committee, issue each month a lithographed letter, which is circulated among the friends of the cause in the various Cantons, and which gives a detailed account of the proceedings of the local branches of this Committee. The number of *secours* established is now considerable, including those of Berne, Neuchâtel, Geneva, Vevay, Lausanne, and other places ; and the committees of ladies in these places are also directing their efforts towards a variety of means for assisting women who are out of employment. The immense activity thus displayed, and the positive work already achieved by these committees of ladies, is in itself, even if it were accompanied by no other movement, a matter for great thankfulness to God, and a remarkable sign of the awakened sense of responsibility amongst women towards their less fortunate sisters.

The great majority of the Swiss press (German and French) look with favour on the work of the Federation. We cite the following example from *La Feuille Suisse*, which in a leading article entitled "Une Réforme Sociale," after quoting from a speech made by Professor Hornung condemnatory of legal prostitution, says :—

"We entirely agree with the honourable Professor, and we wish that this question should be seriously examined by our cantonal authorities.

"The work undertaken by the *Federation* is immense: it is only by a moral regeneration and an amelioration of the position of woman, regarded from the economic aspect, that we can hope to accomplish our aim. But if

the combat is severe, it is noble ; and every man of sensibility, every mother of a family, will applaud the generous purpose, and will endeavour to add a stone to the building by moral and material help."

Reference has already been made to the action taken by the Continental Commissariat, in connection with the Committee of the Inner Mission of Germany, of which Professor Dorner is the President. The Report handed in to M. Humbert by M. Rollier, whom, it will be remembered, had acted as delegate of the Federation at the meeting of the Inner Mission in Dresden, is full of interest, but too long to reproduce here. The practical results of his work, however, have begun to appear in various ways. M. Humbert received on the 18th of January the following letter from Dr. Dorner, with a copy of a petition recently presented to the Reichstag :—

"To Mons. Aimé Humbert, Neuchâtel.

"Berlin and Hamburg, Jan. 18th, 1876.

"HONOURED SIR,—The undersigned Central Committee, to which you transmitted the programme of the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of Prostitution, hereby expresses to you its sincere thanks for such transmission. Not only do we accord our liveliest sympathy to those who contend against immorality, and who desire to purify our society from the shameful stain of prostitution, but we will continue in the future, and to the utmost limits of our sphere of action, to support your efforts, as we have heretofore done, in the face of public opinion and of legislative authority. We start from the point of view that it is not sufficient to banish the public manifestations of prostitution, but that we must at the same time seek out and cure the moral and social maladies which are the roots and sources of vice. We have assured ourselves with joy, honoured Sir, that the Federation of which you are one of the representatives, participates in this view. We were therefore doubly rejoiced to learn that Pastor Rollier had received from you a mandate to represent the Federation at

the Congress of the Inner Mission held at Dresden. We earnestly desire that the union which has begun may continue in the future, and that we may be able to labour in fraternal fellowship with your association, in order to do away with evils which dishonour Christian communities. We transmitted to you last autumn the memorial upon public immorality, in which we set forth the grounds of a petition addressed by us in 1869 to the Parliament of the Northern Confederation. That memorial, which went through five successive editions, did not remain without effect upon public opinion. Last year, taking our stand upon the same grounds, we addressed a petition to the Prussian Landtag, and we succeeded thereby in introducing into the new Law of Guardianship certain provisions which will more effectually guarantee the moral discipline of young persons deprived of their parents, and which will consequently restrict the domain of prostitution. Finally, in December last, we addressed a third petition, this time to the Reichstag. A proposition emanating from this assembly itself, gives reason to fear that, by the revised Penal Code, houses of tolerance may come to obtain a legal existence in the German Empire. We send you herewith the text of this petition, which we caused to be transmitted both to the German Federal Council and to the Chancellor of the Empire. We will inform you of the result obtained, probably at a very early date. At the same time, we must beg of you, honoured Sir, to be so good as to continue to keep us informed of the movements of the Federation, and to transmit to us the various publications which it may issue. We will do as much on our side, and will neglect nothing in order to contribute, to the utmost of our power, to the accomplishment of the laborious and difficult task at which we labour in common.

“In the name of the Central Committee of the Inner Mission of the Evangelical Church in Germany. For the President, Dr. Dorner.”

PETITION TO THE REICHSTAG.

“THE undersigned Central Committee takes the liberty of drawing the attention of the Reichstag to the following :—

“Berlin and Hamburg, Dec. 9th, 1875.

“Upon the occasion of the revision of the Penal Code by the German Empire, upon the 15th May, 1871, there were proposed certain additions, emanating from the Reichstag itself—sections 180 and 361; additions which would have for their effect to accord in Germany a legal existence to houses of infamy, and to thereby introduce them within certain portions of the limits of the Empire in which they do not at present exist. It is not to be doubted that the motive which has dictated this proposition is that of acting in the supposed interest of the public health, but we are none the less convinced that its adoption would be injurious to the public welfare, and that the moral foundations of our social life, already menaced, would be thereby still more profoundly shaken.

“The trade of the procurer, which hitherto has fallen under the ban of severe penalties, would find itself, by virtue of the observance of certain formalities, with which it would be easy to comply, placed henceforth under the protection of the law. The number of the women who, especially in the large towns, practise prostitution under the supervision of the police, would also be materially augmented; once legalized, the trade of the procurer would be given up to a depraved competition, and all this would tend in the highest degree to the public demoralisation. Further, confidence in the Imperial legislation, and consequently in the Empire itself, which has need rather to be strengthened, would experience a serious shock amongst very considerable and important portions of the population; and the supreme authority, which, according to the declaration of the Government and of the Chancellor of the Empire, was to be augmented by the revision of the Penal Code, would find itself instead materially weakened. As regards the sanitary reasons which are put forward in support of the proposition, we believe ourselves authorized in saying that their value has not yet been sufficiently established from the experimental and scientific point of view, and that, on the contrary, in this respect also, the proposition is open to serious objections.

“We will add, lastly, that this proposition is put forward precisely at the moment when we are witnessing, in England

and in Switzerland, a movement as profound as it is earnest, which has for its aim, with ever-increasing prospects of success, the abrogation of all legalisation of prostitution, whether on the part of the legislature or of the administrative function.

"In virtue of the considerations herein enunciated, and referring moreover to the petition which we addressed on the 30th March, 1869, to the Parliament of the Northern Confederation, with the accompanying memorial, by which it was strengthened ; relying upon the unanimous vote by which that high assembly, in its session of the 6th May, 1869, referred our Petition to the Chancellor of the Empire, to be added to the documents intended to serve for the compilation of the Penal Code of the Northern Confederation ; and in the conviction that there should and could be found a remedy for the evil of which we are speaking other than the legalisation of the trade of the procurer, we address to the Reichstag the prayer following :—

"That the Reichstag be pleased to reject every proposition tending to alter the provisions already enacted by the law against the trade of the procurer, or to authorise in any manner whatever the exercise of that trade by placing it under official protection.

"In the name of the Central Committee of the Inner Mission of the Evangelical Church in Germany. For the President, Dr. Dorner, Professor of Theology, and Member of the Superior Consistory."

This petition, it will be observed, is directed, not against the existing system of legalised prostitution in Germany, but against a fuller development of it, which is threatened. At present, in most cities of Germany, a *livret*, or permit, is given by the police to those unfortunate women who live in their own private houses. This is an open official sanction of vice, and is the state of things alluded to in the sentence in the above petition referring to the "practice of prostitution *under the supervision of the police*." A nation having become accustomed to this amount of official license, will easily be carried on to acquiesce in the more complete form of governmental

sanction of vice, namely, the licensed and protected *house* of shame. There must appear to the English abolitionist an omission in this otherwise excellent petition, in the absence of an additional protest against the license *already accorded* in Germany. But the light which has begun to fall so fully and steadily upon this question, will ere long, there can be no doubt, reveal clearly to these petitioners the necessity of attacking any and every compromise with vice, in whatever form. There is a warning and a lesson to be drawn from these circumstances. In official compromise with vice there is no standing still; there is a perpetual advance towards more open and shameless and elaborate organization of profligacy. The house of ill fame does not yet exist in England as an openly recognised and protected institution, but in reality it forms a part of the system, and is tacitly permitted. The open recognition will follow here, as in all other countries where the system of Regulation has once obtained a footing. This matter is clearly stated in the Berlin Regulations instituted in 1850. The following words are translated from the German of the *Resolution of the Royal Presidency of Police of Berlin, Dec. 18th, 1850*, which precedes the Regulations:—

“The method of tolerance may be twofold: permission may be given to prostitutes to have each a domicile of her own, upon submitting to a stringent regulation; or, on the other hand, they may be confined in special houses, under a responsible householder.

“This last method offers more guarantees and greater security to police-regulation, and facilitates supervision. No doubt the moral sentiment revolts at the idea that the public authority should tolerate and protect houses set apart for purposes of vice, but experience has proved that this mode is, for Berlin, the least objectionable.

“The public authority, in order to avoid the appearance

of encouraging licensed houses of ill fame, has ordered that those who may wish to hold such houses should obtain permission to do so from the police, should designate the house which they desire to open, and make a declaration that they are ready to conform to the obligations which the police may judge it necessary to impose upon them.

“Authorisation is granted to the applicant when the house fulfils the conditions demanded by the police.”

The regulationists of Germany having established in 1850 the full-grown system, and having been obliged by public opinion for a short time to fall back upon the former of the two methods mentioned here, now seek, by means of a clause in the revised Penal Code, to re-establish the second method, which “offers more guarantees, and facilitates supervision.” Let the advocates of Regulation in England ponder the above resolution of the Royal Presidency of Police!

Before concluding this short notice of the present condition of our movement in Switzerland, it is right to refer to an event which as it preceded any of the events narrated in this volume, is remarkable and encouraging from the fact that it is not an outcome directly of our work on the Continent, but confirms the conviction that the minds of men in many parts of the world have been preparing from within for the great work, now spreading so widely, in which England has been called on to take the active initiative. Zurich, which may be regarded as the intellectual centre of Switzerland, had adopted the Regulation system in full force. But in June, 1874, the municipal authority published a decree abolishing the Regulation system; which document, remarkable in more respects than one, is here quoted from the first number of the *Continental Bulletin* :—

“Toleration,” says the official document referred to, “gives

rise to a fatal confusion of ideas ; men become accustomed to regard all that passes in houses thus protected as a permitted thing, and the young thus lose all the ideas of good conduct which have been inculcated to them.

“ A moral confusion no less fatal is produced among the *employés* and agents employed in the *morals* police ; the fact of being in constant relations with the tenants of bad houses necessarily leads to a species of intimacy. Moreover, it is not possible that they should display much energy against unlicensed prostitution while they are occupied in favouring regulated prostitution. Thus the police is placed in a false position ; it can only truly maintain a repressive attitude towards prostitution by showing itself frankly hostile to it in all its forms.

“ To admit any sort of compromise with a trade fundamentally evil, to tolerate one description of houses of debauchery and make war upon others, is to enter upon the path of half-measures, compromise, and equivocal partiality, fruitless of every good result.

“ Zurich owes it to herself to watch over the interests of the young confided to her care. To facilitate the approaches and multiply the opportunities of vice, is to offer temptation to the numerous students of the Polytechnic School and University, to our own citizens, and to the youth of the Canton gathered together in Zurich, whether in our barracks, or in our Military, Federal, or Cantonal schools.

“ The snare is all the more dangerous because presented under a false semblance of sanitary immunity. The opinion that tolerated houses are a preservative against contagious diseases is refuted by modern statistics, and supported at present only by a minority of opinion among the faculty, and by the tenacity of inveterate prejudice.

“ Whatever advantage may be drawn from tolerated houses in respect of prophylactic measures against contagion, can never counterbalance their injurious effect both immediate and indirect, for it is a recognised fact that the existence of these establishments tends to foster and develop sensuality and to multiply the means of gratifying it, while the abolition of such places facilitates in an equal degree every effort towards

the abolition of prostitution. This is shown by the result of experience in the city of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and by the moral and sanitary condition of that town as compared with Hamburg.

“Moreover, if prostitution, like other vices, be indestructible ; if the action of the police cannot be brought to bear except in cases of public scandal, well-founded complaint, solicitation, procuring, etc., etc., how much more reason then is there to take action against institutions which, while offering further indulgence to the habitual profligate, are at the same time hot-beds of prostitution and nurseries of every description of crime and abuse punished by the laws protective of public morality. In a word, the system of official tolerance of prostitution is irreconcilable with the idea of the State as a moral power, with every sound principle of social economy, and is regarded with just reprobation by the conscience of the great majority of the people.”

ENGLAND.—The work of the Directing Committee of the Federation in England has been greatly facilitated during this first year of its labours by the energy and ability of its principal supporters on the Continent, while in England itself it has been steadily winning adherents and support. Letters of deep interest, but too numerous to quote, have been received from all sides. Professor Rolleston, of Oxford, has expressed his sympathy with this extension of the movement, as he had previously done with the abolitionist efforts made in our own land. Mr. Herbert Spencer wrote to the secretaries applauding the work. Dr. Lightfoot, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, gave his adhesion to the cause, and consented to be elected a member of the Council ; as also did Dean Close, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, Prebendary of St. Paul's, London, the Rev. Canon Ellison, late Vicar of Windsor, and the Rev. Prebendary Fowle. Among Scottish ministers of note, there are, on the Council, Dr. Duff, Dr. Cairns, Dr.

Ker, and Professor Calderwood. We have also Dr. Rigg, Principal of the Wesleyan Training College at Westminster, and the Rev. James Martineau, of London. Among medical men, there appears the name of Dr. Routh, of University College, London, the present President of the Medical Association of London. Many ladies distinguished for their devotion to the cause of purity are also members of the Council. Mr. Henry J. Wilson, of Sheffield, who, in spite of his already great and increasing work for the cause, was so good as to accept *pro tem.* the office of Financial Secretary of the Federation until some other of our workers should be in a position to fill that post, has been succeeded by Mr. James Stuart, LL.D., Professor of Mechanical Science in the University of Cambridge, and the author of the scheme for the extension of University Education to our large cities.* In the course of the past winter several additional foreign names have been placed on the Council, namely, M. Sautter de Blonay, M. B. de Watteville de Gingens, and Baron Ungern Sternberg, of Berlin, a correspondent of Mr. Butler, and a generous advocate of the righteousness of the part taken by women in the abolitionist movement. We have to record with sorrow the death of two of our noblest supporters in Italy, namely, Senator Musio, a man of lofty Christian character, and the venerable Maurizio Quadrio, who in the agonies of his last illness raised his voice in benedictions on the "holy cause," and those who are conducting it.

* The Executive Committee of the British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution consists of the following members:—President, the Right Honourable James Stansfeld, M.P.; Treasurer, W. Crosfield, Esq., J.P., Liverpool; Honorary Secretaries, Mrs. Butler, Liverpool, and Professor James Stuart, Trinity College, Cambridge (to whom cheques should be made payable); Members of Committee, Mrs. Tanner, Madame Venturi, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Bart., M.P., and Dr. Carter; Continental Correspondent, M. Aimé Humbert, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

From America the adhesions have been received of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, the Hon. Samuel Sewall, and the venerable Mrs. Lucretia Mott, with others, now members of the General Council. M. Schælcher, a friend and colleague of M. Jules Simon in the French National Assembly, has written to express his deep abhorrence of the system of officially protected vice, and his desire to aid in the movement against it. Similar letters of sympathy have been received from Dr. Fredk. Fehr, of the University of Upsala in Sweder, from Madame Ankarsvård, of Stockholm, and other Swedish and Norwegian ladies.

Reference has been made to an "Appeal from the Protestant Churches of Great Britain to the Evangelical Churches of the Continent." That appeal, drawn up in French, German, and Italian, was largely signed by Protestant clergymen and ministers of all denominations throughout the kingdom, and circulated in the several countries for which it was destined. Many encouraging answers have been received by the secretary who undertook its circulation, from ministers of the Vaudois and the Free Churches of Italy. M. Zanini, M. Ribetti, M. Brachietto, and other Italian pastors, have signified their desire to co-operate with the evangelical workers in the Federation in this crusade. From many towns of France, as also from Belgium and Switzerland, letters of sympathy in response to this appeal have been received during the last four months. An especial testimony of sympathy was received from a church in Lille: it may be remembered that at Lille a most terrible series of outrages was perpetrated under the depraving shelter of the system we combat, the events relating to which were recorded in the *Daily News*.

During the compilation of this narrative a remarkable pamphlet, by Pastor Borel, of Geneva, has been published in Switzerland and France, of which a translation has

been prepared, and is now in circulation in England. This pamphlet gives a vivid and heart-rending picture of the working of the great slave system on the Continent, from the pen of one who himself has been an eye-witness of everything which he describes. Another remarkable pamphlet, which may be regarded also as a result or accompaniment of the continental work, has issued from the pen of Joseph Edmondson, of Halifax, bearing the title, "Regulationists and their Policy." * The keen logic, largeness of view, and far-sightedness which are characteristic of the writer, appear in this as in all his other writings on behalf of our cause. Mr. Edmondson was one of the first to encourage Mrs. Butler's impulse to visit the Continent ; his faith in the results of that mission, undertaken in dependence on God has never faltered, and his words, she avers, have often been to her like the voice of the watchman who from his watch-tower proclaims the approaching victory, seen from afar.

The compilers of this narrative have now brought their work almost to a close. The history of the expansion of this movement during the past year has been briefly, though necessarily imperfectly, recorded, and as much as possible, the succession of events has been traced up to the present date. While the perusal even of this imperfect record can hardly fail to be felt by all friends of the cause to be a great encouragement for the future, it forces upon the view a picture of the immense organization of evil, with all its vested interests and Government support, which we are called upon to attack.

* Both these pamphlets may be had at the office of the Northern Counties' League, 255, Pitsmoor, Sheffield.

While, therefore, we take encouragement from the chronicle of progress and of difficulties overcome contained in these pages, it is necessary to set plainly before our eyes the increasing magnitude of the work of the future. Those social reformers who have had experience of the practical work of conducting any great reforms, are aware of the large sums of money which have been required to carry them out. Some of our fellow workers can remember the large yearly expenditure which was required for carrying to a successful issue the English anti-slavery movement, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and other great reforms. We entreat them to look deliberately at the reform to which we are directing our efforts, and, comparing it with other movements which have taken place in our century, we feel confident that they will recognise it as second to none in the immense importance to mankind of the issues involved. The insufficiency of the funds with which the great work recorded in these pages has been carried so far, would have crippled the operations of persons less energetic and less self-devoted than those to whose labours these results are due. But the labours arising in the future are beyond the utmost limits of the powers of our noble workers, unless they have the aid of funds which they have hitherto been enabled to a large extent to dispense with. The movement inaugurated can never die, but must eventually triumph in the accomplishment of its object ; but its progress and its triumph may be indefinitely postponed unless those who possess money, and who are interested in its success, are willing to contribute largely to strengthen the hands of those who are giving their personal services to the work.

The following is quoted from a letter addressed by Mrs. Butler, in the summer of last year, to Mr. Henry J. Wilson, of Sheffield. It will plead, perhaps more eloquently than any words of ours, the exigencies of this

great movement, and we feel that we cannot better conclude this narrative than with its powerful appeal:—

“I feel it very hard, and almost unfair, to call upon our friends, who have already been so liberal on all hands towards this cause, to give more than they have yet done; but I hope that many who have never yet been roused to the importance of the movement, and who are well able to contribute to the sinews of our war, will now begin to feel a responsibility in the matter. I believe the continuance of this work begun in other countries to be of great importance, not for them only, but for our own country. Indeed, in defeating “White Slavery” in England alone, we should be merely lopping off a solitary branch, so to speak, of the poisonous tree: we should still have the old parent tree, with its deep roots, and strong trunk, standing in neighbouring countries; and our principles would not have attained any real and lasting victory. Penetrated with this conviction for some years past more deeply than I could express in words, I determined, if I could, to express it in action; and the humble effort I have made on the Continent has had such encouraging results as ought to convince all that the time was come, that the fields were ripe to harvest, and that the accursed institution had become at once so enfeebled through its own corruption, and so impiously and audaciously aggressive, that *any* attack from the moral side must now make it begin to totter, while a challenge made to it in the name of justice and morality must draw out and enlist at once numbers of people in different nations who have long abhorred the system, and who hail with hope any opposition rising against it. For myself, you know that I am constrained to say, ‘Silver and gold have I none;’ yet such as I have, I have given freely. I have poured out my life for this cause. The feeling of exhaustion induced by the efforts I had to make is such as I never before experienced in my life.

I do not wish you to think there is any credit due to me: it was no self-denial to me to do that work; it would have been a far greater self-denial to remain at home, in comparative ease, while I knew what wrongs and woes existed. I only followed an irresistible impulse, and did what seemed to me my duty. The work interested me intensely, and brought me much happiness. I speak not of self-denial, but of effort,—for certainly there was effort. It was no holiday work. Entirely new objections met me, and new conditions of society surrounded me in each country; and carrying on so difficult a warfare among foreigners, and in a language not my own, increased the anxieties which had to be daily encountered. I had to rely for success, not on any power of speech, but solely on the vital force of the truth spoken. I tell you all this only in order that I may plead, that if I have poured out my life for this cause, so that I have now to suffer and be inactive for a time, dear hearts may be moved to give, even at some sacrifice, that which I ask,—the only acknowledgment I ask from the English abolitionists,—money enough to give stability to the work already begun, and to nourish into fuller life this great anti-slavery movement arising in the countries most responsible for the existence of such slavery, and for the perpetration, in the sight of heaven, of all its attendant villainies.”

Mrs. Butler was assured everywhere on the Continent that the most powerful argument for the abolitionists abroad, and the strongest encouragement towards their continued and increased exertions, would be the fact of a Parliamentary victory having been achieved in this country. While, therefore, the support of our fellow workers for the wider extension of the work of the Federation is urgently required, it must never be forgotten that our first duty is to promote repeal in England, and that the work of the Federation must in no sense be

regarded as an interference with, but rather as an aid to, the work at home. It would be a misfortune for our great work of reform if the appeal here made were to withdraw a single subscription from the hands of those energetic and devoted workers at the central office in Great George Street, Westminster, and at the offices of the various other Associations. But there is no need to anticipate any such result. We look with confidence to the awakening, by means of a wider publication of the facts of our crusade, of an interest in the minds of many who have not yet contributed towards the pecuniary support of the work of repeal. We look to the opening out of an abundance of fresh channels of support, and not to any diversion of the funds which have hitherto flowed so freely in the old channels. And it is not impossible that the facts here published may be made use of by some of the friends of our cause in order to draw into our ranks great numbers of persons who have hitherto held aloof. At the same time we revert to the first letter received from M. Humbert, and already quoted, which shows how necessary the co-operation and simultaneous advance of all European countries are, in order to attain a real and permanent victory in England.

FINIS.



APPENDIX I.

THE following address, delivered by Signor Nathan at a public meeting of the working men of Rome on January 9th, 1876, contains so clear a statement of the principles of the abolitionists, that we reproduce it here, it having reached us too late for insertion in its proper place among the Italian news in Chapter VII. Signor Nathan said :—

“There are three aspects under which these laws deserve our condemnation : they are immoral, they are unconstitutional, and they are opposed to the public health. And it is these three points that I wish now to discuss briefly with you.

“With all men, to whatever faith they belong, morality is none other than the application in practice of what they hold to be true. Now, no religion has ever dared to deny that prostitution is a vice and an evil ; and as all vices or evils are obstacles to the fulfilment of the purpose of life, that is, to the interpretation and progressive application of the law of life, so it behoves us to fight against and overcome those obstacles if we would advance on the path of progress.

“Instead of this, what do these laws do ? So far from seeking to encourage the efforts of those who strive to destroy the evil, they recognise it as a necessity, an unconquerable power ; and thus they teach the people, as with authority, that whosoever fights for virtue and purity of morals is fanatical and senseless, since it is evident that even the strongest will must succumb to a stern necessity. But let us try to define this word ‘necessity’ which is so misused by the supporters of these immoral laws.

“Necessity implies that a given cause will always produce given results; and in this sense, indeed, the supporters of this evil legislation may be said to speak correctly; for so long as immorality reigns in the Government, so long as the educational influence of the laws is immoral, so long shall we have immorality as a *necessary* result. But from this it is clear that there is a way to render immorality *unnecessary*, and that method consists in altering the *causes*, in securing that our Government and laws be moral and of a rightly educative influence, that justice and morality be the soul of every legislative decree; and then, sooner or later, we shall find that justice and morality will be the *necessary* consequence.

“Our opponents would further have us believe that because this evil has existed until now, it is *therefore a necessity*! But if this were true, we might ask them why they are so zealous in endeavouring to prevent robberies, murders, and many other evils which have always existed? The robber might also say that eating is a necessity, and that, therefore, his robbery is excusable; and what should we say? Should we not tell him that if eating is a necessity, so also is production; and that if he were not a producer, we could not recognise that he had the least right to be a consumer? Our opponents have no higher law to appeal to than the satisfaction of their senses, no better argument than that an evil habit is a necessity because it has not yet ceased to exist, and on these grounds they do what they can to ensure that man may run the least risk possible in satisfying his brutal and ungoverned instincts.

“To working men I would say: Let us not forget that no long time ago there were men who asserted that because food was a necessity, therefore they had a right to have a class of slaves and hirelings to procure it for them. But the people saw the falsity of such arguments, and after many a fruitless struggle they at last broke through and destroyed that injustice, and substituted in its place the law of God, applicable to the moral world as to the physical, ‘In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread;’ ‘Deserve, and ye shall have.’

“These laws are unconstitutional, because they infringe the right which every accused citizen has of appeal to trial by Jury.

Any doubt, too, should be conceded in favour of the accused, but here, in place of that, the very doubt suffices to cause the accused to be not only condemned, but forced to submit to the most degrading and humiliating outrage ; and this to prove or disprove the doubts that may be entertained by a set of police agents, whose own morality is in anything but fair renown.

“They are unconstitutional because they punish only one of two persons engaged in a transaction (which transaction is, however, no legal crime), and they thus sanction the most groundless and tyrannical prejudice of society, by which it is declared that a man may freely do that which in a woman is esteemed the greatest dishonour. They are unconstitutional inasmuch as the State has no right to leave the application of laws in the hands of men who, unless they were omniscient, could not carry them out without flagrant injustice. And they are again unconstitutional because they are contrary to the maxims adopted by all civilized nations, that it is better for a hundred guilty to escape than for one innocent person to suffer, and that every person should be held innocent until proved guilty.

“They are unconstitutional because applied to one sex only, and to one class of that sex, for it has never yet been heard that the richer classes ran any risk from these laws, whilst there is no poor woman, however honest, who might not, on the false accusation of a police agent, be compelled to prove the falsity of that accusation in the most degrading manner that it is possible to imagine ; nor, after proving her entire innocence, is there any human power that can recompense and obliterate the violence that has been done to her.

“If every working man would think but for an instant how his own mother, or wife, or sister, or daughter, except for the protection of his own presence or vengeance, would be at the mercy of the most degraded police agents, and liable to inscription in the ‘Ledger of Infamy,’ I am sure there is not a working man in all Italy who would not say, in that tone in which a man speaks when he is determined to act if words do not suffice : ‘We are determined that these laws be instantly abolished.’

“These laws are hurtful to the public health. Indeed, we have said before that one sole law governs the earth, and there can be no discord between the action of this law in the physical and in the moral world. Man, being endowed with physical and moral faculties, and being a unity composed of these, it cannot be that the development of the physical faculties should necessitate the destruction of the moral faculties; it cannot be that, to have a healthy nation, we need to steep it in immorality.

“There is irrefutable evidence to the contrary—Babylon, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Turkey, France; all which nations faded or fell into utter decay as soon as they became a prey to immorality.

“Furthermore, as we said that these laws are illegal because they punish one only of two guilty parties, and that in order to secure a presumed immunity for the other, so we say that they are opposed to the first elements of every sanitary law, for such laws would foster but a vain hope if they were limited to the attempt to cure the diseases of one class, while allowing another to spread them. Take, for example, the regulations concerning the cattle plague. What should we say of a law which applied solely to the animals of one sex or of a given colour? Everyone would hold such regulations ridiculous, nor would the most shallow-brained man dare to make such a proposition; yet we have ministers and statesmen professing to govern a nation, and they dare to propose and carry out such laws, and to assert that they have a beneficial effect on the public health, although they are restricted to one sex. If, instead of speaking to working men, who feel by instinct the justice of our cause, I were speaking to medical men and supporters of these laws, I could adduce statistics and assertions of the most distinguished physicians in Italy, France, and England, proving that such laws, far from being a benefit to the public health, are positively harmful to it, since by offering a false security they draw into the paths of vice many who, without such a presumed guarantee, would have abstained from immorality through fear of the pernicious consequences.

“This side of the question, the one in which the supporters of these laws place most confidence, is also that in which they

have been most signally defeated. But I do not care to go into medical details here. If any of you have doubts on the point, I shall be glad to hear them and to enlighten you to the best of my ability after the close of the meeting. What I now wish to make clear to one and all of you is, that a Government which offends against the moral law by sanctioning an immorality, draws on the nation, sooner or later, the natural and inevitable consequences of the physical and moral degradation and ruin of the people whom it has been called on to govern.

“On all of us, then, lies the responsibility and sacred duty of declaring to the Government that we protest against laws that offend every feeling of manly and civil dignity; that we demand their abolition; and if our demands be not acceded to, it will be necessary to decide at a future meeting what further it will then be incumbent on us to do.

APPENDIX II.

A COPY has been received of the *Alpha* of February 1st, published in Washington, U.S., in which a solemn warning is given to the American people of the approach of the advocates of legalised vice and of their design to conquer the vast territory of the United States for their system. The following words occur in the article referred to:—“We have no idea that our Congress will dare openly to pass a Bill to license prostitution, but they may pass a Bill authorising the Board of Health to institute such measures as they may see proper for the regulation of certain diseases.”

The Board of Health of Columbia did actually, through its President, Dr. Cox, present, in December, 1874, a report and memorial to the President of the United States, recommending the adoption by the whole nation of measures similar to those “ordinances which

had been enacted in a number of the principal cities" of America, for the supervision and legalizing of houses of ill fame. In January, 1876, Dr. Cox referred publicly to the above report, and avowed that great pressure had been brought to bear upon him, as a health officer, by various committees and "persons who were sensitive on this subject," and that he had informed these persons that the report was furnished "merely as information, and not as a recommendation." Here, as in other cases, the vigilance of our friends in America has marred, for the present the plans of the Regulationists. It should be mentioned that a measure of Regulation was on the point of being introduced in Harrisburg, in 1874, and that the attempt was defeated mainly through the exertions of Mrs. Anna Dickenson.

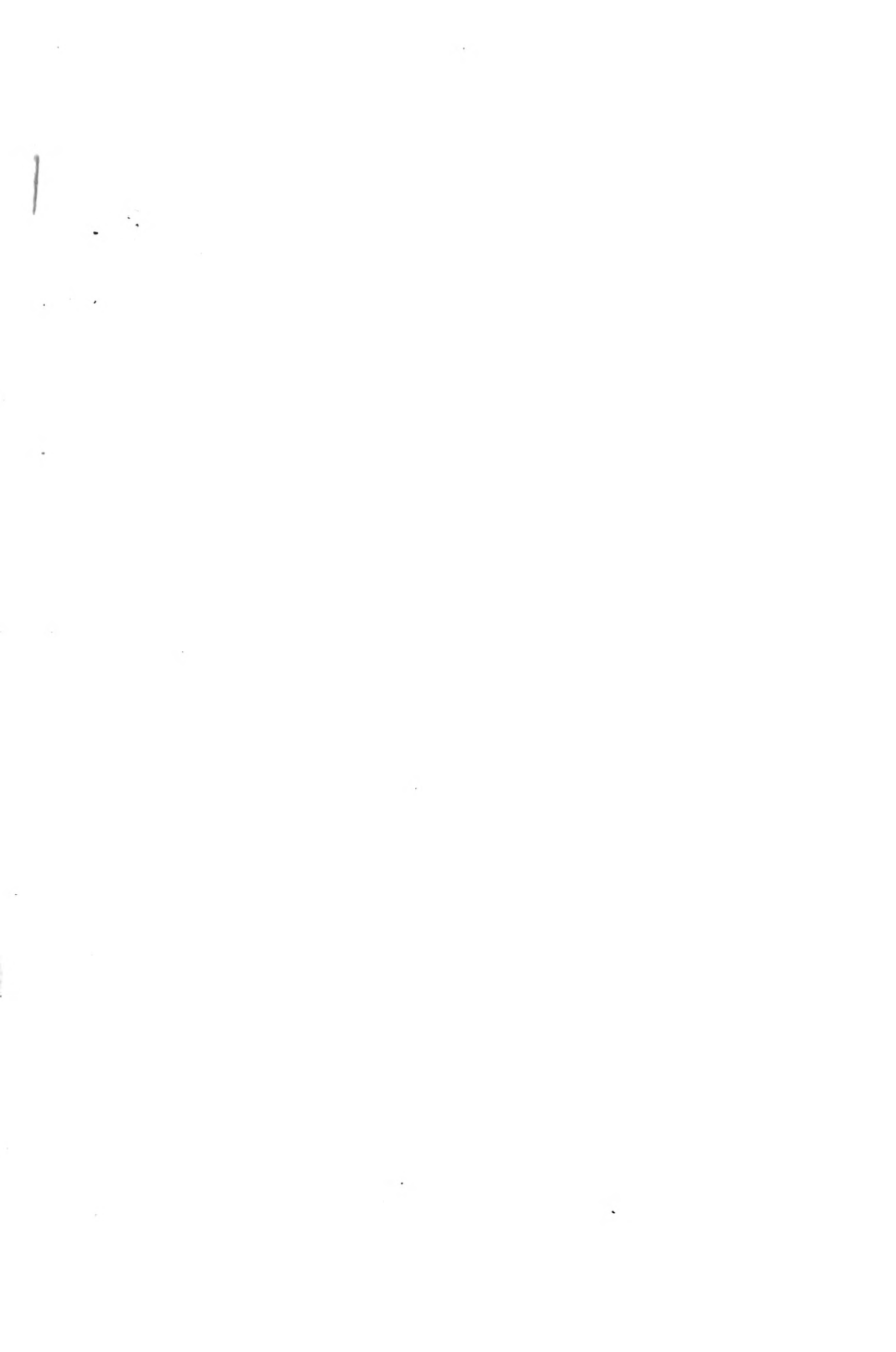
From the *Alpha*, February 1st, 1876:—

"By invitation of Rev. Dr. Sunderland, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of this city, a committee of the Moral Education Society met a committee of the ladies of his church, to lay before them the importance of a concerted action on the part of the women of Washington, and the country generally, to prevent the measure of licensing prostitution in the district of Columbia, as proposed by our Board of Health in their last annual report.

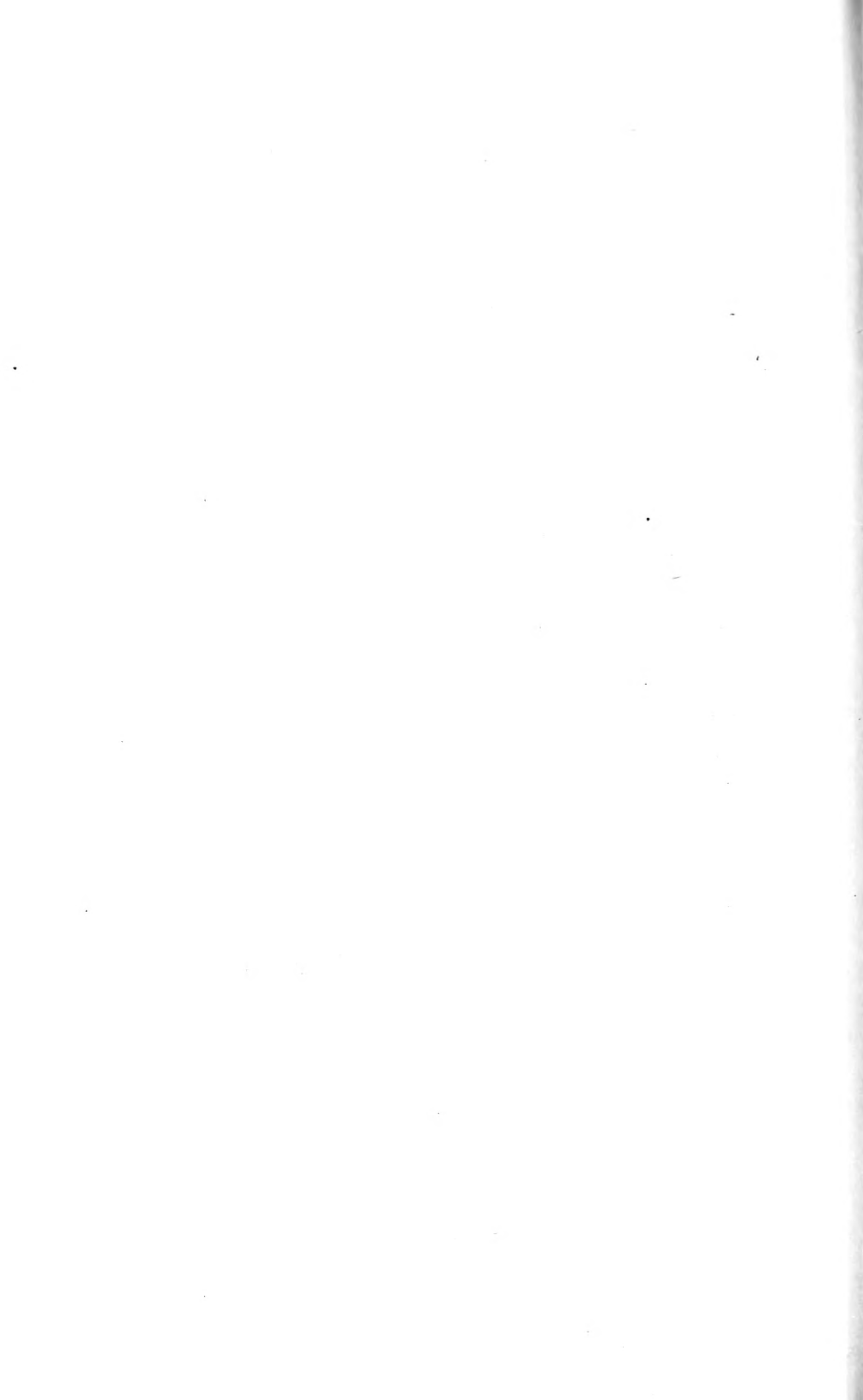
"Dr. Sunderland said: 'You are asked to consider a subject for which I have no words sufficiently strong for condemnation. I consider the recommendation of the Board of Health in their last annual report a most disgraceful one. I introduce Mrs. Dr. Winslow, and resigning the chair to her, will withdraw.' Mrs. Winslow stated the object of the meeting was to call the attention of women to the danger that threatened the capital of our nation."

[Here followed the reading of a petition to Congress against the proposed measure.]

“A number of ladies from other churches coming in quite late, owing to a misunderstanding of the hour of meeting, were so eager to be informed further on the subject, that, by invitation of Mrs. Winslow, an adjourned meeting was held in her parlour, where the discussion was continued. The ladies manifested much interest in the subject, and expressed a desire that the ministers of the different churches would take up the work and call out the moral sentiment of the community to such an extent as to make it impossible for any such ‘sanitary’ or ‘regulation’ laws to be passed by Congress.”







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